KASHMIR

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mirza Shafiq Hussain

UTE OF ISLAMIC HISTORY, CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION
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By

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PREFACE

The denial of the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir is one of the greatest contemporary problems. The drama of the Kashmiris' struggle against repression did not begin, as some might think, in 1947, when the states of India and Pakistan came into being; it started much earlier. The worst period of oppression began with the sale of Jammu and Kashmir by the British to the Dogra chieftain in 1946. The Kashmiris did not accept the usurpation of their rights; but the movement for reform and emancipation did not gather momentum till 1920s and 1930s.

A number of studies have appeared on the Muslims' struggle for freedom in the South Asian sub continent; and the Muslims of Kashmir have received some attention in them. There are also independent works on Kashmir but the subject still needs detailed investigation and research. When I joined the National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, I wanted to study the problem of Kashmir in historical perspective. Dr. K. K. Aziz, the then Chairman of the Commission, however, suggested that before undertaking a study of a serious nature, I should prepare a comprehensive bibliography of the literature already available on the subject. The work of preparing an annotated bibliography has been very rewarding for me, and it is being published for the benefit of those who might be interested in research on the subject.

In the preparation of the present work I have made use of the bibliographies compiled on allied subjects; but most of the research is based on the literature available in the libraries of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. It covers books, pamphlets, articles and even important news items. It is divided into thirteen chapters, each covering a separate subject. The internal arrangement of every chapter is in alphabetical order. There is a separate section, chapter fourteen, on material written in Urdu, and the supplement includes material which could not be categorised or which was discovered

after the main work had been done. In the beginning of each chapter, an introductory note has been given to facilitate the understanding of its contents. All the entries have been annotated except those which are self-explanatory.

In placing the entries, the approved format of the National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research has been followed. Abbreviations have been avoided, except for the *Pakistan Times* (PT), Lahore ; *Morning News* (MN), Karachi ; *Times of India* (TI), Delhi and *Illustrated Weekly of Pakistan* (IWP), Karachi

Nov. 17, 1981. *Mirza Shafiq Hussain*

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3

AS A POLITICAL ISSUE

This chapter mostly contains the material on Kashmir after that Crisis which started after the creation of Pakistan as a result of the partition of India. But the movement for the liberation of the State had started long ago, particularly after the 1931 event, the Movement got momentum and the Kashmir Issue remained as the most vital problem between the two concerning states i.e., India and Pakistan. Therefore, this chapter also contains some material about the Kashmir Issue pre-1947.

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Two chapters are relevant :

1. Kashmir—a survey of events, Ch. 8 and

2. Foreign Policy, Ch. 11.

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153. KORBEL, JOSEF. *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1954, 351 p.

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156. *Legal Aspect of Kashmir Dispute*, n. d., 14 p.

Report of the address delivered by Mr. S.M. Nurul Hasan, Advocate, General Secretary, International Law Association at the Seminar on International Law held on July 9, 1956, under the auspices of I. L. A. and S. M. Law College Karachi and presided over by an eminent American Scholar Dr. Wallace McClure of Virginia University (U.S.A).

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One chapter is related to Kashmir, Ch. 6, pp. 91-118.

"Conflict with India : Kashmir Dispute, History of Kashmir and September War of 1965."

Also see entry No. 41.

159. MARTIN, KINGSLEY. "As Pakistan sees it, (Kashmir Situation)" in *New Statesman and Nation*, 35, March 6, 1948, pp. 188-89.

160. ——. "The Kashmir Crisis : Heading for War ?" in *New Statesman*, 70, September 3, 1965, pp. 8-10.

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162. ——. "Reflections on Kashmir" in *New States-*

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163. MAYFIELD, R.C. "A Geographical study of the Kashmir Issue" in *Geographical Review*, April 1955, pp. 181-196.

164. MIR ABDUL AZIZ. "Kashmir Dispute: Sheikh Abdullah's courageous fight will continue." in *Dawn*, 8 May 1967, 7 : 4-6.

165. MOHRIST, ALEXANDER. "Kashmir Dispute", in *World Affairs*, 4 (1), January 1950, pp 60-71.

166. NOORANI, ABDUL GHAFOOR; ABDUL MAJEED. *The Kashmir Question*, Manaktalas, Bombay, 1964. 125 p.

167. OBRADOVIC, VLADE. "The Dispute over Kashmir", in *Review of International Affairs*, 16, September 5 1965, pp. 8-10.

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170. OVESTOR, O. "The War in Kashmir" in *New Times*, No. 40, September 29, 1948.

171. PAKISTAN, DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS. *The Story of Kashmir*, New York, 1951, 30 p.

Also see entry No. 384.

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Pages 92-142 are especially relevant.

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176 SAHNI, J. N. *The Kashmir Problem*, Foreign Relations Society of India, New Delhi, 1951, 39 p.

177. SAHNI, RUCHI RAM. *Truth About Kashmir*, Raina's News Agency, Srinagar, 1947, 216 p.

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179. SIDDIQUI, KALIM. *Conflict, Crisis and War in Pakistan*, The Macmillan Press Ltd , London, 1972.

"Kashmir in Prospective, The Role of the Kashmir Dispute", pp. 112-117 are relevant.

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182. THORNER, ALICE. "Kashmir Conflict", (2 parts) in *The Middle East Journal*, 3 (1-2), January 1949.

183. "Tragedy of Kashmir". (E) in *Dawn*, 18 April 1967, 7 : 1-2.

184. "The Trump-Card". (E) in *Pakistan Times*, August 10, 1947.

Editorial on Kashmir situation.

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186. ——. "Settlement of the Kashmir Question is vital", in *Great Britain and East*, 66, October 1950, p. 30.

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Chapter 11 is related to the Kashmir conflict.

A background and analysis of the Kashmir Conflict is given on pp. 223-240.

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"Pakistan" by Guy Wint; "The Problem of Kashmir" by Mutinuzzaman Zuberi (an Indian). The Kashmir problem is treated by an Indian Muslim studying in England.

——: o :——

4

KASHMIR AND THE UNITED NATIONS

In this chapter only that material is included, which generally relates to Kashmir vis-a-vis United Nations.

In other words this chapter does not include the proceedings and the resolutions of the General Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations about Kashmir. The proceedings and the resolutions, regarding Kashmir have been taken from the official record of the United Nations, available at the United Nations Information Centre for Pakistan, Islamabad. They have been separately included in chapter No. 6, entitled "Reports and Documents".

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191. BENNETTE, M. "UN makes progress on Kashmir", in *Far Eastern Survey*, April 19, 1950, pp. 65-67.

192. BRECHER, MICHAEL. "Kashmir : A case study in United Nations Mediation", in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 3, September 1953, pp. 195-207.

193. BURKI, H.K. See entry No. 116.

194. DASS, T. See entry No. 122.

195. *Everyman's United Nations: A Complete Handbook of the Activities and Evolution of the United Nations During its First Twenty Years, 1945-1965*, Office of Public Information, United Nations, New York, 1968, 8th ed., Index.

Foreword by Agha Hamid, Assistant Secretary General Office of Public Information. The relevant portion is "India-Pakistan Question", from pp. 109-

122, in which a short history of Kashmir Issue has been narrated and the role of the United Nations and its Commission's for India and Pakistan has been discussed.

196. "Hamid welcomes Pakistan's letter to UN body on Kashmir", in *Dawn*, 31 July 19 8, 5 : 3,

Also see entry No. 39 and 646.

197. HASAN, K. SARWAR. See entry No. 134.

198. "Jabbar criticises UN inaction on Kashmir" in *Dawn*, 28 April 1967, 8 : 4-5.

Statement by Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan, Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan.

199. "Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory in UN" in *Pakistan Times*, 12 June 1966, 14 : 3.

200. *Kashmir and the United Nations.* Government of India, New Delhi, 1962. Also see entry No. 470.

201. "Kashmir and UN Security Council : Absence of swift UN action responsible for uneasy peace, Amjad cites Kashmir Cyprus", in *Morning News*, 14 August 1966, 8 : 1-3.

202. Kashmir and UNO. "Kashmir solution, No serious UN effort after TD", says Thant, in *Morning News* 20 September 1967, 1 : 7-8.

203. "Kashmir and UNO. Initiative rests with UN Council, Thant urges patience on Kashmir, full accord with President on vital issues", in *Dawn*, 20 April 1967, 1 : 2-3.

204. "Kashmir and U Thant. Thant urges new steps to solve Kashmir issue" in *Dawn*, 22 September, 1966, 14 : 4-5.

205. *Kashmir in Security Council.* Lalla Rookh Publications, Srinagar, 1953, 119 p.

206. "The Kashmir Problem : Its handling in the United Nations', in *Journal of Indian Law Institute*, 2 (3), July September 1959, pp. 213-92, bibliogr/ft-n.

207. "Kashmiris lack of faith, in UN" in *Dawn*, 24 January 1967, 9 : 3.

Statement of Mr. K.H. Khurshid, President of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League.

208. "Kashmiris rehabilitation UN responsibility, World Body asked to fulfil obligations" in *Pakistan Times*, 8 October 1966, 12 : 2-3.

209. Khan, Afzal Ahmad. *Verdict on Kashmir*, Pakistan Delegation to the Security Council, New York, 1951, 160. p.
Being an account of the Security Council Debate from 21st February to 2nd April 1951.

210. KHAN, SARDAR MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM, "Kashmir in the Security Council", *Pakistan Horizon*, June 1950, pp. 59-68.

211. ——. *Kashmir and United Nations*, New York, 1949, 23 p.
Contains some information on the pre-1947 Kashmir.

212. KHAN, (Dr.) M. M. R. *The United Nations and Kashmir*, J. B. Wolters, Groningen (Holland), 1956, vii+23. p.

213. KHOKHAR, H. B. "Kashmir : Plea to United Nations" in *Dawn*, 27. July 1966, 1 : 3-5.

214. KORBEL, JOSEPH "The Kashmir dispute and the United Nations", in *International Organisation*, May 1949, pp. 278-287.

215. Pakistan, Government of—. *Reports on Kashmir by United Nations Representatives*, Karachi, 1962.
Also see entry No. 262 and 355.

216. PLANE, JACK G. *The United Nations and the India Pakistan Dispute*, Unpublished Ph. D. thesis submitted to the University of Wisconsin, 1954.

217. RAU, B. and M.Z. KHAN. "Kashmir Debate" in *Rotarian*, 19, September 1951.

218. SHEIKH, RUSTAM ALI. *The Kashmir Issue—A Test before the United Nations*. Unpublished Master's thesis submitted to the University of Quli, Philippines.

219. "Steps underway to take Kashmir Issue back to the

World Body" in *Dawn*, 2 July 1966, 11 : 3.

220. "UN and Kashmir". (E) in *Morning News*, 21 September 1967, 8 : 1-2.

221. "UN and Kashmir". (E) in *Morning News*, 22 September 1967, 8 : 1-2.

222. "UN Council to take up Kashmir at appropriate time, onus is now on World Body, Says Thant" in *Dawn*, 30 April 1966, 1 : 4-5.

223. "UN disappointed Pakistan, Big issues still undecided" in *Pakistan Times*, 12 March 1967, 13 : 1-2.

224. "UN inactivity on Kashmir stated, Action body to keep up freedom struggle" in *Pakistan Times*, 26 October 1966.

225. "UN handling of Kashmir issue deplored". in *Dawn*, 24 October 1966, 8 : 1-2.

226. "UN urged to force India to settle Kashmir issue, Hazara League meeting backs Afro-Asians Freedom struggle" in *Dawn*, 20 February 1968, 7 : 4-5.

227. "UN urged to help resettle Kashmir refugees" in *Pakistan Times*, 12 October 1966, 11 : 1-2.
An appeal to the United Nations by the Secretary, Pakistan Society in Saudi Arabia, Soofi Ghulam Mohammad.

228. "UN urged to help solve dispute, Azad Kashmir Council hails Thant's visit" in *Pakistan Times*, 31 January 1967, 1 : 1-2.

229. "UN urged to solve Kashmir dispute" in *Dawn*, 13 December 1968, 10 : 2-3.

230. "UN urged to stop decimation of Muslims in held Kashmir" in *Morning News*, 16 June 1966, 1 : 1-2.

231. *United Nation, and Kashmir* n. d., Public Relations Directorate, Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 14 p.
Speech delivered by Dr. Mahmud Hussain, Minister of Kashmir Affairs, Govt. of Pakistan on October 24, 1952, at the United Nations Day reception held under the auspices of the Pakistan United Nations Association in Karachi. Also see entry No. 356.

5

REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS

This chapter contains selected proceedings and official record of U.N.O. relating to Kashmir. Most of the material included in this chapter has been taken from the Official Record of the proceedings of the meetings of the General Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations.

The chapter also contains the record of the correspondence and communications to the United Nations by the representatives of the Government of Pakistan and India. Moreover, the reports of the UN Commission for India and Pakistan have also been added. Any other report, map or document relating to Kashmir produced by any corner, has been included too. In this connection, the books on Historical documents have also been consulted.

232. ALLANA, G. (ed.) *Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents*, Paradise Subscription Agency, Karachi, 1968.

The attitude of Muslim League towards Kashmir before partition. Two resolutions of League:

(i) Resolution of the Muslim League in the year 1942, on Muslims in Kashmir, p. 316.

(ii) Resolution of the Working Committee of the League on Kashmir in 1943, p. 326.

233. *Approximately Distribution of Population, 1941*, Lake Success. United Nations, 1949. (Map No. 1901).

234. AUSTIN, GRANVILLE. *History Past and History Present: Report on Kashmir*, Institute of Current World Affairs, New York, 1965. 59 p.

Also see entry No. 5.

235. "Ghastly instances of Indian brutality, Hindu woman's report on visit to Held Kashmir" in *Dawn*,

10 January 1968, 10 : 7-8.

Also see entry No. 927.

236. "Commission on Indian genocide in Kashmir records evidence" in *Morning News*, 28 August 1966, 8 : 3-4.

237. DAVIES, CUTHBERT COLLIN. *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 2nd ed. 1959, 4th imp. 1965, 96 p. First Published in 1949.

Forty-seven clearly drawn maps in black and white, each with a short historical explanation on the facing page. Pre and post-1947 maps appear in confusion. The map on the inside back cover, showing "The Indian Union and Pakistan, 15 August, 1947", puts the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union.

238. *Debate in the Pakistan Parliament*, October 4-5, 1950.

239. DIXON, SIR OWEN. "Report on his findings in Pakistan and India vis-a-vis the Kashmir Issue', submitted to the Security Council, reported in *CMG*, September 24, 1950; *Pakistan Times*, September 23, 25, 1950.

240. "Documents on Kashmir" in *Egyptian Economic and Political Review*, Vol. III, Nos. 4-5, December 1956 to January 1957, pp 32-35.

241. EGGLESTON, SIR J. "The Kashmir dispute and Dixon's Report" in *Australian Outlook*, March 1951.

Also see entry No. 126.

242. ELLIOT, IVO D. "The Kashmir Franchise Report" in *Civil and Military Gazette*, 13 February 1942.

A defence by a retired I.C.S. man.

243. HASAN, K. SARWAR (Comp.) *The Kashmir Question*, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, 1966, xiv–484 p. Bibliographical footnotes, (Series : Documents of the Foreign Relations of Pakistan).

A chronological compilation of the documents,

agreements and statements etc., regarding Kashmir upto 1966.

244. *The Indian Annual Register* (ed.) July-December 1931, The Annual Register Office Calcutta, n.d., viii+483 p.
Kashmir Riots Inquiry Committee Report (pp. 394-396).

245. ——. January -June 1932. The Annual Register Office Calcutta, n.d., viii+482 p.
Middleton Inquiry Report on Kashmir firing (pp. 472-474).
Summary of the Glancy report on Kashmir (pp. 474-478).

246. JAMES, M. "Kashmir : Report on a coveted Valley" in *New York Times Magazine*, February 3, 1952 and March 9, 1952.

247. *Jammu and Kashmir Inquiry Committee*, Report of the Inquiry Committee appointed to examine the working of Land Reforms, Price Control etc.,
Printed at the Ranbir Govt. Press, Jammu, 1953, 176+xlii p.
Report signed by : Janki Nath Wazir (Chairman), Ali Shah, Harnam Singh Pathania, Ghulam Ahmed.

248. *Karachi Agreement: 27 July 1949*, Special Supplement No. 7, Document No. S/1430 Add. 1, Anned. 26. Security Council Official Records, United Nations, New York.

249. *The Kashmir Dispute through Neutral Eyes.* (Pamphlet). Reports of Foreign Press Correspondents, n.p., 1948?, 22 p.

254. "The Muslim World" in *Civil and Military Gazette*, 22 February 1932.
The Middleton Report on Kashmir agitation; Muslim League and Muslim Conference politics.

255. ——. in *Civil and Military Gazette*, 25 April 1932.
Hindu-Muslim controversy; the Glancy Report on Kashmir.

256. "The 1931 Muslim riots in Kashmir State" in *Civil and Military Gazette*, 11 August 1932.
Summary of the administration report of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir State for 1931.

257. Pakistan, Govt. of ——. *Kashmir-Basic Information in Maps*, (no date and place is mentioned).

It includes 10 maps representing population, rivers, provinces and Roads and Railways.

258. ——. *Kashmir Documents*, Karachi, 1962.

Also see entry No. 334.

259. ——. *Kashmir Documents*, Karachi, 1950, p. 27.

Text of the main resolutions adopted by the Security Council and UN Commission for India and Pakistan from 17th January 1948 to 14th March 1950.

Also see entry No. 333.

260. ——. *Kashmir in Maps*, Public Relations Directorate, Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, Rawalpindi, November 1951.

It includes 12 maps, representing population, ceasefire line etc.

261. ——. *Population Statistics of Jammu and Kashmir State According to the Government of India Census Report of 1941*.

Reproduced by Public Relations Directorate, Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, Govt. of Pakistan, Rawalpindi, 25 July 1955, No. PRD/ID-1/55, 1 p.

262. ——. *Reports on Kashmir by United Nations Representatives*, Karachi, 1962.

Also see entry No. 216

263. ——. *Selections of Kashmir Documents*, Karachi, 1949.

Also see entry No. 342.

264. Pakistan, Embassy of ——. *Kashmir in Maps*, Washing-D.C.

It includes 10 maps representing population, rivers, provinces and road and railways.

265. "Population Statistics of Jammu and Kashmir State according to the Government of India Census report of 1941" in G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement : Historic Documents*, University of Karachi, Karachi, 1967, p. 198.

Also see entry No. 251.

266. RAEM, A. and HIRA NAND. *Census Report of Jammu and Kashmir*, Jammu, 1933.

267. *Reports and Statements of the U.N Representatives.* U.N.C.I.P., First Interim Report. S. 1100, Nov. 22, 1948.

——, Cease Fire agreement. S. 2017. Rev. 1, March 21, 1951.

——, Resolutions, Aug. 13, 1948, and Jan. 5, 1949. Text. S. 1430, Dec. 9, 1949.

——, Second Interim Report. S. 1196, Jan. 10, 1949.

——, Third Interim Report. S 1430. Add. 1, Dec. 9, 1949 and S 1430. Add. 3 of Dec. 16, 1949.

Report of Gen. A.G.L. McNaughton. S 1453, Feb. 6, 1950.

Report of Sir Owen Dixon. S. 1791, Sept. 15, 1950. First report of Dr. Frank Graham. S 2375, Oct. 15, 1950. Dr. Graham's statement to the Security Council. S/P. v. 564, Oct. 18, 1951.

—— Second report. S 2448, Dec. 18, 1951.

—— Statement to the Security Council. S/P. v. 570. Jan. 17, 1952.

—— Third report. S. 2611. April 22, 1952.

—— Fourth report. S. 2783, Sept. 19, 1952.

—— Statement to the Security Council. S/P. v. 605, Oct. 10, 1952.

—— Fifth report. S 2967, March 27, 1953.

268. "Resolution of Council of Muslim League, on Muslims in Kashmir, passed on 9th November 1942 at Delhi", in G. Allana, (ed), *Pakistan Movement : Histori Documents.* University of Karachi, Karachi, 1967, p. 227.

269. "Resolution passed at the annual Session of the Muslim League in Lahore on 25th May, 1942, regarding, the anti-Muslim attitude of the Government of Kashmir", in G. Allana (ed.), *Pakistan Movement : Historic Documents*, University of Karachi, Karachi, 1967, p. 54.

270. *Security Council Official Records :* Third Year, Nos. 1-15.

Speeches of Sir Zafrullah Khan

Also see entry No. 3 3.

271. *Security Council Official Records : Fourth Year, Supplement for January 1949*, Lake Success, New York, Document No. S/1196, pp. 20-45.

Letter dated 10 Jan. 1949, from the Chairman and Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan addressed to the President of the Security Council transmitting the Commission's second interim report.

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for India and Pakistan ......p. 42.

6. Press Communique issued by the Commission on 7 January 1949...... p. 45.

272. ——: *Nineteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1964*, United Nations, New York, 1966, pp. 319-320. Document No. S/6114.

A reaction against the Indian Government's announcement in the Indian Parliament on 4 December 1964, to make the Provisions of articles 356 and 357 of the Indian Constitution, and certain entries of the Union and Concurrents Lists, applicable to the Indian-Occupied part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

273. ——: *Nineteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1964*, United Nations, New York, 1966, pp. 325-26, Document No. S/6125.

Letter dated 26 December 1964 from the representative of India to the President of the Security Council.

This letter is a reply to the letter of the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, dated 17 Dec. 1964, (Document No. S/6114).

274. ——: *Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965*, United Nations, New York, 1965, pp. 91-93, Document No. S/6218.

Letter dated 5 March 1965, from the representative of India to the President of the Security Council

Annex :- Note, dated 23 September 1964, by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of India, delivered to the High Commission for Pakistan in India.

This correspondence is against the alleged Pakistani act of replacing the 'Azad' Kashmir flag on the President's House in Muzaffarabad by the Pakistan flag.

275. —— : *Twentieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1965*, United Nations, New York, 1966, pp...., Document No. S/6292.

Letter dated 20 April 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

276. —— : *Twentieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1965*. United Nations, New York, 1966. Document No. S/6360.

Letter dated 17 May 1965 from the representative of of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

277. —— : *Twentieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1965*, United Nations, New York, 1965, pp. 215-216, Document No. S/663›.

Letter dated 27 August 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

This letter is in reference to the letter of Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations (S/6292), dated 20 April 1965 to the Security Council.

278. ——, pp. 217-18, Document No. S/6637.

Letter dated 27 August 1965 from the representative of India to the President of the Security Council.

This letter is in reply of the letter of the Permanent representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, written to the President of the Security Council on 17 May 1965 (S 6360 and 6303). The correspondence is about the Kashmir issue.

279. ——, pp. 233-34, Document No. S/6647.

Identical Telegrams dated 1 September 1965 from the Secretary General to the Prime Minister of India and the President. The telegram is about the "grave situation" in Kashmir. The Secretary General's appeal to help preserve peace in the world.

280. ——, pp. 233-34, Document No. S/6651.

Report of the Secretary General on the Current Situation in Kashmir with particular reference to the Cease-Fire Agreement, the Cease-fire Line and the functioning of the United Nations Military Observation Group in India and Pakistan.

This report was submitted by the Secretary General of the UNO on 3 September 1965 to the Security Council.

281. ——, pp. 269-70, Document No. S/6661.

Report of the Secretary General on developments in the situation in Kashmir since the adoption of Security Council resolution 209 (1965) on 4 September 1965, regarding cease fire.

This report was submitted on 6 September 1965. It was received from the United Nations Chief Military Observer in Kashmir, Lt. Gen. R. H. Nimmo, on 5 and 6 September 1965.

282. ——, pp. 272-78, Document No. S/6666.

Telegram dated 5 September 1965 from the President of Pakistan to the Secretary General.

This telegram is in reply to the Secretary General's appeal of 1 September 1965 (S/6647). The reply of the Prime Minister of India to the Secretary General's appeal was read into the record by the Permanent Representative of India at the 1237th meeting of the Security Council, on 4 September 1965.

283. ——, pp. 282-83, Document No. S/6669.

Telegram dated 6 September 1965 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

In this telegram Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan had inform-

ed the UNO about the Indian attack on Pakistan on 6 September 1965.

284. ——, pp. 295-305, Document No. S/6683.

Preliminary report of the Secretary General on his mission to India and Pakistan.

Report submitted by the Secretary General on 16 September 1965 to the Security Council after visiting India and Pakistan personally.

285. ——, pp. 306-308, Document No. S/6685.

Letter dated 15 September 1965 from the representative of the Union of Soviet Republics to the President of the Security Council.

With this letter a message of Mr. A. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR is attached. The message is addressed to the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan separately. The text of the two messages is different from each other. The substance of the message is the Russian concern over the military conflict in Kashmir "because it has occurred in an area directly adjacent to the borders of the Soviet Union".

Also see entry No. 791.

286. ——, pp. 308-312, Document No. S/6686.

Second Report of the Secretary General on his mission to India and Pakistan.

The report was submitted by the Secretary General to the Security Council on 16 September 1965 in which he gives his impressions about his talks with the leaders of the two governments and "their views on the present critical situation which has developed over Kashmir."

287. ——pp. 312-16, Document No. S/6687.

Report of the Secretary General on the Military Situation in the area of Conflict between India and Pakistan.

This report was also submitted by the Secretary General to the Security Council of UNO on 16 September 1965.

288. ——, pp. 316-319, Document No. S/6688.

Letter dated 17 September 1965 from the representative of India to the President of the Security Council.

This letter is a request of the Indian representative to circulate a written statement of Mr. Shastri, the Prime Minister of India, which he made in Parliament in New Delhi on 16 September 1965. The text of the statement is also enclosed as a annexture with the letter.

289. ——, pp. 321-27, Document No. S/6692.

Letter dated 17 September 1965 from the representative of India to the President of the Security Council concerning the border situation between the People's Republic of China.

The document also contains the following Annexes.

(i) Note by the Ministry of External Affairs of India delivered on 12 September 1965 to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in New Delhi.

(ii) Note dated 16 September 1965 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Indian Embassy in Peking.

(In this note the Chinese Govt. reiterated their pledge to support the Kashmiris struggle for self-determination).

(iii) Statement made by the Prime Minister of India in Parliament on 17 September 1965 (The statement is

about the Chinese Communication).

290. ——, pp. 348-52, Document No. 6710 and Add. 182.

Report of the Secretary General on the Observance of the cease fire, submitted under Security Council resolution 211 (1965).

This report is about the observance of the cease fire along the cease fire line in Kashmir and the International border between India and West Pakistan. The report was sent by Lt. General Kobert H. Nimmo.

291. ——, pp. 343, 347, 353, 354, 355 and 367. Document No. S/6705, S/6711, S/6713, S/6714 and S/6727.

Letters of Indian and Pakistani representatives to the President of the Security Council alleging each other for the violation of the cease fire.

292. ——, pp. 356-57, Document No. S/6715.

Letter dated 26 September 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the Secretary General.

This letter is about the withdrawal of the armed forces from the conflicting border of India and Pakistan. Pakistan in this letter had suggested to not only retreat to the old-cease-fire line but to evolve a self-executing arrangement and procedures that would ensure an honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

293. ——, pp. 359-361, Document No. S/6719.

Report of the Secretary General on the compliance with the provision in Security Council resolution 211 (1965), regarding withdrawal of armed personnel.

294. ——, pp. 361-62, Document No. S/6720.

Letter dated 28 September 1965 from the representative of India to the Secretary-General. To convey

the Indian Government's wiliingness to order a cease-fire.

295. —, pp. 140-41 (Part II), Document No. S/6735.

Letter dated 30 September 1965 from the representative of India to the Secretary-General.

Reaction of the Indian Government against the decision of UN to divide the supervision of the Cease-fire between two groups of United Nations' Observers.

296. —, p. 147 (Part II), Document No. S/6739).

Letter dated 2 October 1965 from the representative of India to the Secretary General.

A complaint against the Indian terrorism in the Indian occupied Kashmir.

297. —, pp. 196-97 (Part II), Document No. S/6790.

Letter dated 14 October 1965 from the representative of India to the Secretary General.

The Indian representative's allegation that Pakistan is preparing for "Fresh infiltrations" across the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir, as she is recruiting and training irregulars in the Azad Kashmir and in the tribal areas of Pakistan.

298. —, pp. 203-207 (Part II), Document No. S/6801.

Letter dated 18 October 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

In this letter the representative of Pakistan has alleged the Indian authorities of Kashmir for committing atrocities on the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir on 9 August 1965.

299. —, pp. 228-29, Document No. S/6823.

Letter dated 24 October

1965 from the representative of India to the President of the Security Council.

In this letter the Indian representative contradicts the charges alleged by the Pakistan's representative in his letter dated 18 October 1965 and declared that "Kashmir is an integral part of India" and that Pakistan had no right to request to the Security Council to have a discussion on the subject.

300. ——, p. 230 (Part II), Document No. S/6828.

Letter dated 25 October 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

The request of the Pakistani representative to distribute to the members of the Security Council a memorandum on an Indian Plan to violate the cease-fire in Jammu and Kashmir alongwith an Indian document captured by Pakistan during a fighting in Jammu and Kashmir.

301. ——, p. 239 (Part II), Document No 6835.

Letter dated 27 October 1965 from the representative of India to the President of the Security Council.

In this letter the Indian representative strongly protests against the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, on 25 October 1965, in which he had said quoting a Kashmiri girl, "An 18-Year old girl in Srinagar had cried 'Indian dogs go home'. Indian dogs have gone home, but not in Srinagar, in the Security Council". The Indian representative declared in this letter that due to 'this attitude and conduct of Pakistan

it was not possible for India to have any rational discussion of Problem with the Government of that time.

302. ——, pp. 240-51 (Part II), Document No. S/6836.

Letter dated 26 October 1965 from the Minister for External Affairs of India to the President of the Security Council.

In this letter the Indian Minister gives the details of the 'violations of the cease-fire' in Kashmir by Pakistan. In this long letter he contradicted Mr. Bhutto's statements and allegation. Many times he quoted Mr. Bhutto stating "it did not mean that Pakistan had abandoned Kashmir because it had accepted cease-fire. There would be a second round........ "We will fight for thousand year, but Pakistan would vindicate its pledge to Kashmir," etc. etc.

303. ——, pp. 282-85 (Part II), Document No. S/6845.

Letter dated 29 October 1965 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

In this letter Mr. Bhutto comments on the statement made by the permanent representative of India in which he had threatened that India would stay away from the Council if the situation in Indian-Occupied Jammu and Kashmir were to be discussed. Mr. Bhutto strongly contradicted the Indian claim that developments in the State of Jammu and Kashmir are a matter lying within the domestic jurisdiction of the Indian government, Mr. Bhutto declared that Jammu

and Kashmir was a disputed territory and not a constituent part of India.

304. ——, pp. 293-94 (Part II), Document No. S/6857.

Letter dated 1 Nov. 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

In this letter the representative of Pakistan mentions the reign of terror in Indian-Occupied Kashmir and refers to a strike in Srinagar on 31st October 1965 in protest against the extreme measures employed by the Indian Police in suppressing the popular rebellion.

305. ——, pp. 294-96 (Part II), Document No. S/6858.

Letter of the Pakistan's representative to the President of the Security Council.

In this letter the Pakistani representative comments on the Indian Government's plea that as it is "victim of our aggression", it will not participate in the financing of the expenses arising out of the establishment of UNIPON and the dispatch of additional observers to UNMOGIP.

(UNMOIP: UN Military observers group for India and Pakistan).

306. ——, pp. 302-315 (Part II), Document, No. S/6865.

Letter dated 2 November 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

In this lengthy letter the representative of Pakistan defends Pakistan's position against the charges made by the Indian representative and accuses India of certain charges. He also quotes some extracts from some

important international newspapers. He also refers to some of the countries who had expressed their opinion that the Kashmir issue should be settled. The letter is an important document.

307. ——, Documents No. S. S/6867 (Mimeographed), S/6869 (Ditto), S/6870 (Ditto), S/6874 (Ditto), S/6875 (Ditto).

In these letters to the President of the Security Council, both Indian and Pakistani repesentatives have made complaints against each other for violation of the cease-fire agreement on the Kashmir border.

308. ——, pp. 323-28, Document No. S/6879.

Letter dated 4 November 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

In this letter the Pakistan representative protests against the Indian repressive policy of killing the Kashmiri people "who only demand the fulfilment of the pledge solemnly given to them by the United Nations."

309. ——, pp. 343-45, Document No. S/6888.

Report of the Secretary General relating to an aspect of the procedures employed in observing and reporting on the cease-fire betweeu India and Pakistan.

The letter is related to the Kashmir problem.

310. ——, pp. 376-81, Document No S/6950.

Letter dated 17 November 1965 from the representative of Pakistan to the President of the Security Council.

This letter is a continuation of the previous letters of the representative of Pakistan dated 18 October, 1 November and 4 November 1965 (S/6801, S/6857 and S/6879). The letter is

about the atrocities of Indians on the Kashmiris. The letter also contains the chronological report of incidents in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The letter tells how "the armed bands of Jan Sangh, a militant organization of India, are being injected into the Kashmir Valley and a number of refugees from Indian-Occupied Kashmir are coming to Azad Kashmir."

Also see (i) The letter dated 26 Nov., 1965, Document No. S/6976.

(ii) Letter dated 29 Nov., 1965, Document No. S/6980.

311. *Security Council Resolutions :*

S 651, Jan 17, 1948.
S 654, Jan. 20, 1948.
S 661, Jan 29, 1948.
S 662, Jan. 29, 1948.
S 671, Feb. 11, 1948.
S 699, March [illegible], 1948.
S 726, April 21, 1948.
S 819, June 3, 1948.
S 1461, March 14, 1950.
S 2017, Rev. 1, March 21, 1951. (Appointment of Dr. Graham).

S 2181, May 29, 1951. (Asking India to refrain from convening a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir).

S 2392, Nov. 10, 1951.

S 2839, Nov. 5, 1952. (Urging India and Pakistan to enter into negotiations concerning the specific number of forces to be retained on each side).

312. *Security Council : 1237th Meeting*

Message dated 4 September 1965 from the Prime Minister of India to the Secretary-General. Document No. S/6672).

313. —— : *The 1238th Meeting.* Message dated 6 September 1965 from the Minister for External Affairs of India to the Secretary General. (Document No. S/6673.

314. *Security Council [illegible]rbatim Record of Proceedi[illegible]*

S/P. v. 226, 240. Jan. 17, Feb. 4, 1948.
S/P. v. 241, 286. Feb. 5, April 1, 1948.
S/P. v. 463 to 466. Feb. 7 to Feb 10. 1950.
S/P. v. 566. Nov. 10, 1951.
S/P. v. 570. Jan. 17, 1952.

315. *Supplement to the list of Muslim abducted women and children in India and Jammu and Kashmir State.*

3 Parts, Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, Lahore, 1951, pp. 2481-2500, 2961-2988, 3301-3338 are relevant.

This is a supplement to the original list of the abducted persons of Jammu and Kashmir and other areas by the Indians. This report is supplied by the Chief-Secretary to Govt. of Punjab, and High powered Officer for the Recovery of Abducted Women, West Pakistan, Lahore.

In this list the particulars of the abducted as well as their abductors are also given. This supplement is in three parts.

316. *Techno-Economic survey of Jammu and Kashmir.* National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, 1969. xiii+268 p.

A survey of the resources endowments of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This report is an assessment of the resources present in the State.

317. "Text of Pakistan's letter to UNO Council". in *Morning News*, 30 April 1967, 14 : 3-6; 15 : 5-8.

318. *United Nations Documents.*
S 628, Jan. 2, 1948. (India's charges against Pakistan).
S 635, Jan. 6, 1948.
S 646, Jan. 15, 1948. (Pakistan's charges against India).
S 646, Corr. 1. Jan. 15, 1948.
S 688, Feb. 10, 1948.
S 734, Corr. 1. May 7, 1948.

319. *United Nations Important Press Releases.*

S/C. 229. Jan. 17, 1948.

S/C. 1087. Dec. 29, 1948.
S/C. 1196. Jan. 7, 1949.
S/C. 1109. Feb 7, 1950.
S/C. 1111. Feb. 8, 1950.
S/C. 1112. Feb. 9, 1950.
S/C. 1113 Feb 10, 1950.
S/C. 1117. Feb 24, 1950.
S/C. 1120. Feb 28, 1950.
S/C. 1123. March 8, 1950.
S/C. 1125. March 14. 1950.
S/C. 1332 April 12, 1950.

320. *United Nations: Security Council Commission for India and Pakistan, Documents connected with the Cease-Fire Proposal of August 13, 1948*, Government of India Information Service, Washington, 1948, 32 p.

321. ——. *Commission for India and Pakistan, Interim Reports (I, II, III)*, Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, June 1948—December 1949, 1952, vi+335 p. Also published by Lake Success, New York, 1948-49.

Also see Entry No. 474.

322 ——. Fourth Report to the Security Council by Dr. F.P. Graham, 32 p.

For I, II, and III Reports see Entry No. 326, 472 and 473.

323. ——. *Kashmir Documents: text of the main resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan from 17 January 1948 to 14 March 1950*, The Frontier Exchange Press, Rawalpindi, 1950, 22 p.

Issued by Pakistan Ministry of Kashmir Affairs.

324. ——. *Representatives for India and Pakistan, Dr. Graham's First and Second Reports, Security Council's proceedings of January 1952 (Paris)*, Govt. of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1952, 119 p. (Kashmir Paper Section).

Also see Entry No. 472.

325. ——. Verdict on Kashmir: being an account of the Security Council debate from 21st February to 2nd April 1951, compiled by the Pakistan delegation, to the United Nations, New York, Prof. 1951, 160 p.

326. ——. Third Report to the Security Council by Dr. Frank P. Graham......, Ministry of External Affairs, (Kashmir Papers), Government of India, New Delhi, 1952, 24 p.
Also see Entry No. 473.

327. "What Muslim India Thinks" in *Civil and Military Gazette*, 29 January, 1934.
Contents : Kashmir franchise report ; communal proportions in State appointments ; problems of land alienation in the Punjab.

328. ——. In *Civil & Milita* *Gazette*, 12 February, 193 .
Kashmir reports ; Calcutta Corporation and terrorism.

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6

KASHMIR AND PAKISTAN

This chapter is divided into two parts :

Part I includes the publications of the Government of Pakistan about Kashmir and in the

Part II material about Kashmir vis-a-vis Pakistan has been included.

Both the Parts are further subdivided as follow :

Part I : OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS OF

(A) .... Pakistan Government.

(B) ....Punjab Government.

(C) ....Ministry of Kashmir Affairs.

(D) ....Ministry of External Affairs.

(E) ....Ministry of Interior.

(F) ....Department of Advertising, Films and Publications.

(G) ....Pakistani Embassies and Delegations to the other countries.

Part II : OFFICIAL & UNOFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS REGARDING

(A) .... Kashmir vis-a-vis Pakistan.

(B) ....Speeches & Press Statements of (West) Pakistani Leaders about Kashmir.

(C) ....Speeches and Statements of the (East) Pakistani Leaders.

PART I

(A)...... Pakistan Government.

329. Pakistan Government. *Background of the Kashmir problem.* Karachi, 1948, 26 p.

330. — . *The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) Debates, Official report of the fifth session of the Constituent Assembly (Legislature).* Vol. 1, 1950, pp. 189-190, 20 March 1950.

Question asked by Mr. Nur Ahmed, regarding the "Oppression in Kashmir by Indian Troops. Dr. Nur Ahmed, the Minister of Kashmir Affairs answers.

331. ——. *Double—— think on Kashmir : background,* Bureau of Education, Lahore, 1963.

Originally published by the Information Division, Embassy of Pakistan, Washington D.C., 1963, 17 p.

332. ——. *Kashmir dispute,* Bureau of National Research and Reference, n.d., 99, ii—133, p. 3 Volumes.

333. ——. *Kashmir documents,* Karachi, 1950, 27p.

Texts of the main resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the UN Commission for India and Pakistan from 17th January 1948 to 14th March 1950.

Also see Entry No. 259

334. — . *Kashmir documents.* Karachi, 1962.

Also see Entry No....258.

335. — . *The Kashmir Issue : Statement to the Press by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah,* Karachi, 1958.

Also see Entry No.... 637.

336. ——. *Kashmir : Speech delivered to the Security Council on the 11th May, 1964. by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Mins. for External Affairs, Govt. of Pakistan,* Karachi, 1964.

337. ——. *Kashmir: What now? Statement in Parliament on Sir Owen Dixon's report by Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan,* Karachi, 1950, 24 p.

338. ——. *Khan, Mohammad Ayub : Speeches and State-*

ments, July 1961—June 1962, Vol. IV, n. d.

Ayub Khan's views ahout Kashmir. Refer pages : 8, 13, 14, 36, 37, 38, 52, 53, 59, 62, 76, 78, 83, 84, 85, 90, 96, 191.

339. ——. *Khan, Mohammad Ayub on the crisis over Kashmir*, Karachi, 1965.

340. ——. *Khan, Sir Mohammad Zafrullah : Extracts of speeches delivered before the Security Council of the UNO on January 24, Feb., 3, 4, 6, 11 and 18, 1948*, Karachi, 79p.

341 ——. *Khan, Sir Mohammad Zafrullah : India-Pakistan dispute on Kashmir: Extracts from the Speech delivered ....before the Security Council of the United Nations Organization on January 16 and 17, 1948*, Karachi, 1948, 18p.

342. ——. *Selections of Kashmir documents*, Karachi, 1949.

Also see Entry No. 263.

343. —— *United Nations Security Council Official records, third year, Nos. 1—15.*

Speeches of Sir Zafrullah **Khan.**

Also see Entry No.....270.

(B) ... Punjab Government

344. Punjab Government. *Inside Keshmir*, Lahore, 1948, ii+62+lviip.

Written by Prem Nath **Bazaz** and reprinted by the superintendent, Government Printing, West Puujab, Lahore.

Also see Entry No.......7.

345. ——. *Punjab Disturbances : Tribal Repercussions to the events in the Punjab, Kashmir and India*, Lahore, 1948, 36p. (Pamphlet).

Intelligence reports concerning the Tribal Repercussions.........

(C .... Ministry of Kashmir Affairs

346. Ministry of Kashmir **Affairs.** *Azad Kashmir Government*, Public Relations Directorate, Rawalpindi, n.d., No. PRD/ID-4/55, 2p.

347. ——. *Gilgit Agency Marches Ahead*, Public Relations Directorate, Rawalpindi, n.d., No. PRD/ID-

-/55, 5p.

348. ——. Gurmani, M. A., *Kashmir : A Survey*, Karachi, 1951, 48p.

349. ——. Gurmani. M.A., *Kashmir Freedom Movement*, 1951.

350. ——. *Jommu and Kashmir Refugees*, Public Relations Directorate, No. PRD/ID-6/55. /, 2p.

351. ——. *Kashmir before accession*, Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationary, Lahore, 1948, 53+xxxvii p.

Text of the Treaty of Amritsar of 1846 (xxxvi—xxxvii).

352. ——. *The Kashmir Dispute and its Solution*: Statement in Parliament by M. A. Gurmani, Minister of Kashmir Affairs ...., Karachi, 1951, 24p.

353. ——. *Negotiations between the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan Regarding the Kashmir Dispute, June 1953—September 1954*, Pakistan Publications, Karachi, 1955, 104p.

354. ——. *Negotiations on Kashmir*, Public Relations Directorate, No. PRD/ID/-7/55, 6p.

355. ——. Reports on Kashmir by the UN Representatives, Manager of Publications, Karachi, 1962, 140p.

Also see Entry No ....216.

356. ——. *United Nations and Kashmir*, Public Relations Directorate, n.d., 14p.

Speeches delivered by Dr. Mahmud Hussain, Minister of Kashmir Affairs, Government of Pakistan, on October 24, 1952, at the United Nations Day Reception held under the auspices of the Pakistan—United Nations Association in Karachi.

Also see Entry No....231.

(D) .....Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

357. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, Speeches Delivered by Z. A. Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, before the United Nations General Assembly and its Committees: 1957—1965*, Karachi, n.d., 168p.

Almost all the speeches are on Kashmir issue.

358. ——. *Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, Speeches delivered by Z. A. Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, before the Security Council in 1964*, Karachi, n.d., 171p.

The speeches mainly deal with the Kashmir Problem.

359. ——. *Bhutto, Z. A., Speeches delivered by Z. A., Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, before the United Nations : September 22—October 25, 1965*, Karachi, n.d., 77 p.

The speeches are mainly about the Kashmir Issue.

360. ——. *Letter Addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, dated 15 January 1948, concerning the situation in Jammu and Kashmir*, Lake Success/ 1948, 26 p. (UN. Document No. S/646, dated 15 January, 1948).

361. ——. *Pakistan : Prime Minister, India's threat to Pakistan : Correspondence between the Prime Minister of Pakistan and India, 15 July 1951—11 August, 1951*, Karachi, 1951.

362. ——. *Pakistan : Prime Minister : No War Declaration and Canal Waters Dispute, Correspondence between the Prime Minister of Pakistan and India*, Karachi, 1950, 34 p.

(Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations).

363. ——. *White Paper* : Correspondence between the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan about the Kashmir Dispute, Karachi, October 4, 1954.

364. ——. *White Paper*, Karachi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, 1951, 38 p.

367. ——. *White Paper on Jammu and Kashmir Dispute*, January 1977, 137 p , 2 maps.

(E)......Ministry of Interior.

366. Ministry of Interior. *White Paper : India's War Propaganda Against Pakistan Since Delhi Agreement, dated 8 April 1950*, Karachi, 1950, 20 p.

(F) .....Department of Advertising, Films and Publications.

367. Department of Advertising, Films and Publications. Ahmed, Aziz. *The Kashmir Dispute : Address delivered before the Jafferson Society, University of Virginia, on 22 May 1959*, Karachi, 1959, n p.

368. ——. Khan, Liaquat Ali, *Kashmir and interdominion Relations :* Statement of the Prime Minister in the Dominion Parliament on January 19, 1951, Karachi, 1950 ?, 25 p.

369. —— *Pakistan Fights back: Diary of War Events*, Karachi, n.d., vii+141 p.

The first vii pages are written by Aslam Siddiqi under the heading of "Pakistan Fights Back : Diary of war events".

This Diary of war events is a record, in chronological order, of events leading to war of September 1965 between India and Pakistan. It gives a brief account of the day to day battles and records of public and press reactions from May 17, 1949 to September 23, 1965.

370. ——. *Story of Kashmir : 1947—65*, Karachi, 1965, 32+xvi p.

371. ——. *World Opinion on Kashmir*, Karachi, No. 1, January 12, 1957, 12 p.

372. ——. *World Opinion on Kashmir*, Karachi, No. 2, January 24, 1957, 16 p.

373. ——. *World Opinion on Kashmir*, Karachi, No. 3, January 31, 1957, 19 p.

374. ——. *World Opinion on Kashmir*, Karachi, No. 4, February 4, 1957, 24p.

375. ——. *World Opinion on Kashmir*, Karachi, No. 5, February 8, 1957, 24 p.

376. ——. *World Opinion on Kashmir*, Karachi, No. 6, February 13, 1957, 32 p.

377. ——. *World Opinion on Kashmir*. Karachi, No. 7, February 16, 1957, 27 p.

378. ——. *World Opinion on Kashmir*, Karachi, No. 8, February 20, 1957, 22 p.

Also see Entry No. 804.

(G)......Publications of the Pakistan Embassies and Delegations Abroad.

379. ALI, CHOUDHRY MOHAMMAD, (A Prime Minister of Pakistan). *Kashmir : Serious threat to world peace-Opening Address at all parties Conference on Kashmir*, Karachi, November 1955, Embassy of Pakistan in the United States, Washington, D.C. 1955, 20 p.

380. *Correspondence between the Prime Minister of Pakistan and India, Regarding peaceful settlement of Indo-Pakistan Disputes*, Pakistan's Mission to the United Nations, 1955, ix, 60 p.

381. Embassy of Pakistan. *Behind the Iron Curtain in Kashmir : Neutral opinion*, a pamphlet distributed by the Pakistan Embassy, n.p., 1948, 16 p, Illust.

    This booklet contains the opinion, statements and articles of different people, newspapers other information sources, including an extract from an article in the *Times of London* statement given by Lieut-Colonel Mr. J.M.B.C., Plowden Registrar, No. 2, British Red Cross Society Hospital, Rawalpindi ; a summary of the facts, compiled by two Englishmen, one acting on behalf of India and the other on behalf of Pakistan when they visited Jammu and Kashmir in November 1947.

382. *The India-Pakistan question: Kashmir,. A brief study*, Pakistan's Permanent Mission to the United Nations, New York, 1962, 71 p.

383. KHAN, SIR MOHMMAD ZAFARULLAH *Kashmir Question : Extract from his Speech before the Security Council in February 1950*, Pakistan's Delegation to the United Nations, New York, 1950, 44 p.

384 *The Story of Kashmir*. Pakistan's Delegation to the Security Council, New York, 1 February 1951, 30 p. Illust.

    Foreword by Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan, Secretary

General, Pakistan's Delegation to the Security Council.

The booklet contains only a brief account of the origin of the.... . .... Kashmir dispute and of the efforts which had been made till 1951 to resolve it.

Also see Entry No. 171.

385. *Verdict on Kashmir (being an account of the Security Councll Debate from 21st February to 2nd April 1951)*, Pakistan's Delegation to the Security Council, New-york, 25th April 1951, 160 p.

Foreword by Mr. Aftab Khan, Secretary General Pakistan's Delegation to the Security Council.

(PART II)

(A) ..... Kashmir : vis-a-vis Pakistan

386. AFZAL, M. RAFIQUE (ed.). *Liaquat Ali Khan : Speeches and statements of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, 1941-51*, Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1967, xxxvii+657p, Introd., Appendices, indicies.

Relevent Contents :

i. Telegram to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, October 18, 1947. pp. 129-131.

ii. 'Freedom or Death-Choice before Kashmir Muslims', November 4, 1947, pp. 131-136.

iii. Press Conference on Kashmir Problem, May 3, 1948, pp. 140-45.

iv. Kashmir Commission, June 1, 1948, pp. 160-162.

v. Free Vote only solution of Kashmir Issue, November 1948, pp. 185-88.

vi. Accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan or India, January 19, 1950, pp 310-20.

vii. Press Conference on the failure of Dixon's Mission in Kashmir, August 23, 1950, pp. 443—449.

viii. Statement on Kashmir, October 5, 1950, pp. 458—63.

ix Just solution of Kash-

mir Issue only basis Indo-Pakistan friendship, June 24, 951, pp. 551-52.

x. 'No peace unless Kashmir Issue is solved,' August 21, 1951, pp. 570-71.

387. AHMAD, RASHID "Kashmir's destiny is linked with Pakistan in class Economics", in *Economic Observer* (1), 1951, pp. 5-6.

388. BARTON, SIR WILLIAM "Pakistan's claim to Kashmir", in *Foreign Affairs*, 28 (2), January 1950, pp. 298-308.

Also see entry No. 105.

389. BEG, MIRZA AFZAL. "Kashmir refugees in Pakistan", in *Dawn*, 2 Jan. 1951, p. 5

Also see Entry No 659

390. BHUTTO, Z A. *Foreign Policy of Pakistan*. Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, 1964, 125 p.

A Compendium of speeches made by Mr. Z.A. Bhutto in the National Assembly of Pakistan during 1962-64.

The speeches contained in this book relate largely to Pakistan's relations with India and the viewpoint of the then Foreign Minister about Kashmir. In other words it is a summary of the true outlook of Pakistan regarding the Kashmir and its inhabitants.

391. BONNET, MARJORIE. "Kashmir and Pakistan", in *Far Eastern Survey*, April 5, 1950.

392. BUTT, M.A. *Kashmir and etymology of Pakistan*, in *Dawn*, 23 March 1965.

393. CALLARD, KEITH. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy : an Interpretation*, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1959, 2nd ed., enlarged and revised, 40 p.

The Kashmir problem is discussed by the author in the framework of Pakistan's Foreign Policy. According to the

author "Kashmir is an extension of the argument about the two-nation theory". This is how he interprets the Pakistani point of view.

394. "Friendship and peace basis of Foreign Policy, ties with India depend on Kashmir solution". in *Dawn*, 9 March 1966, 1 : 7-8 ; 13 : 3.

395. "Further Indian steps to annex Kashmir : Pakistan's protest to UN Security Council" in *Dawn*, 28 July 1968, 1 : 7-8

396. "Hamid welcomes Pakistan's letter to UN body on Kashmir", in *Dawn*, 31 July 1968, 5 : 3. Also see Entry No. 196 & 646.

397. "Interdependence of Kashmir and Pakistan", in *Islamic Review*, 39 (i), 1951, pp. 13-16.

398. "Kashmir : A Pakistani View", in *Egyptian Economic and Political Review*, 2 January 1956, pp. 15-17.

399. "Kashmir's accession to Pakistan inevitable". In *Dawn*, 25 December 1966, 3 : 3-4

400. "Kashmir and Pakistan". Translation of leading article from the *Al Fazal*, Lahore, November 14, 1947.

401. "Kashmir main hurdle to normal relations : Communique indicates Pakistan stand", in *Dawn*, 4 March 1966, 14-5 ; 11 : 4.

402. "Kashmir not India's internal affair : Indian reply to Pakistan note rejected", in *Morning News*, 31 August 1966, 1 ; 1-2, 9 : 4-6.

403. "Kashmiris link their destiny with Pakistan". in *Dawn*, 14 August 1967, 9 : 8.

404. KHAN, LIAQUAT ALI. *Pakistan : The Heart of Asia*. (Speeches), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1950.

405. KHAN, SIR MUHAMHAD ZAFARULLAH. *The Kashmir dispute*, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, 1950, 24 p.

The Official Pakistani Opinion.

406. MARFARVE. BAUNELT. "Kashmir and Pakistan", in *Far Eastern Survey*, April 5, 1950.

407. "Nation renews pledge to liberate Kashmiris, Revolution Day" in *Morning News*, 29 October 1966, 6 : 3-6.

408. OLVER, A.B.S. "India, Pakistan and Kashmir" in *World Today*, 21 October 1965, pp. 407-409.

409. "Pakistan determined to secure Kashmiri's right" in *Dawn*, 4 November 1966, 7 : 7-8.

410. "Pakistan draws UN attention to Kashmir" in *Dawn*, 10 March 1967, 1 : 5-6.

411. "Pakistan incomplete without Kashmir, India has links with forces working against Muslim World" in *Dawn*, 19 May 1969, 5 : 7-8.

412. "Pakistan : What hope in Kashmir ?" in *Round Table*, December 1960, pp. 74-75.

413. "Pakistan won't rest until Kashmir Issue is solved". in *Dawn*, 8 June 1967, 1 : 2-8 ; 6 : 5-6.

414. "Pakistan's case in Kashmir" in *Round Table*, 5 December 1965, pp. 76-78.

415. SHAH, AKBAR ALI. "Pakistan and Kashmir" in *Pakistan Times*, 23 March 1968, 1 : 3-5, vii : 1-4 (Suppl.).

416. "Strong Public Opinion for Pakistan in held Valley" in *Morning News*, 10 Jan., 1968, 6 : 1-2.

(B) ......**Speeches and Press Statements of The (West) Pakistani Leaders about Kashmir.**

417. "Basic cause of war still exists.

Ayub gets red carpet welcome at Dacca" in *Dawn*, 9 March 1966, 16 : 5-6.

418. BHUTTO, Z. A. "Kashmir matter of Pakistan's destiny" in *Pakistan Times*, (Rawalpindi), 22 June 1976, pp. 1+4

Speeches made by the Prime Minister of Pakistan in Rawalpindi on the occasion of joining the PPP by the President of Azad

Kashmir Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan.

Also find the speech of Mr. Ibrahim Khan on page 4, of the same edition.

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420. "Forceful projection : as Pakistan views on Kashmir Agha Shahi's plea" in *Morning News*, 11 March 1967, 1 : 1-2.

421. "India's stand on basic dispute blocking unity, says President (Ayub Khan) : Kashmir must be solved, Policy of peace with all" in *Dawn*, 24 March 1967.

422. "Kashmir : Zafarullah against reference to UN Assembly" in *Morning News*, 2 February 1967, 1 : 2-3.

423. "Kashmir and Pakistan. Attempts to ignore Kashmir dangerous, accord on main issue to spur other agreements : Bhutto on Pakistan's efforts and TD" in *Dawn*, 29 March 1966, 1 : 1-2, 11 : 2.

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425. "Kashmir biggest threat to peace. Just solution only way out ; discipline our best defence, Ayub addresses Forces Parade" in *Dawn*, 25 March 1966, 1 : 4-5 ; 13 : 4-5.

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427. "Kashmir constant threat to peace. Shahabuddin's call for a solution" in *Pakistan Times*, 23 Sept., 1966, 10 : 1-2.

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429. "Kashmir issue has top priority ; Kirmani" in *Pakistan Times*, 17 March 1967, 14 : 3-4.

430. "Kashmir issue will surely be settled. Ayub's assurance to tribesmen" in

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431. "Kashmir must be discussed, Pirzada's condition for talks with India" in *Pakistan Times*, 8 October 1966, 11 : 7-8.

432. "Kashmir as serious a a treat to peace as Rhodesia ; Pirzada puts forward plan" in *Dawn*, 14 Sept., 1966, 1 :——

433. "Kashmir right will be secured, Ayub renews all support pledge" in *Dawn* 14 August 1966, 1 : 2-3.

434. "Kashmir solution on the basis of right and justice ; Ayub reiterates stand on Plebiscite" in *Dawn*, 2 September 1967, 1 : 4-5.

435. "Kashmir solution vital for peace; Ayub's address" in *Dawn*, 7 March 1966, 1 : 4-5.

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437. "Kashmir struggle to continue : Musa's assurance to tribesmen" in *Pakistan Times*, 2 March 1967, 8 : 3-5.

438. "Kashmiri People's will cannot be suppressed ; Pirzada reminds Indian leaders of solemn commitments in *Dawn*, 18 February 1966, 1 : 7-8.

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442. "Ministerial talks depend on India, Discussions on Kashmir essential, Says Pirzada" in *Dawn*, 3 June 1967, 1 : 7-8 ; 8 : 4.

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444. "No Better 'no war pact,'

than a just and honourable solution to Kashmir dispute ; Ayub regrets India's diversion tactics, first of month broadcast by the President" in *Dawn*, 2 September 1968, 1 : 4-5.

445. "No rest till Kashmir Problem is solved, says A.R. Khan" in *Dawn*, 23 July 1967, 1 : 1-2.

446. "Pakistan firm on stand on Kashmir, Isphahani's call to friendly countries" in *Dawn*, 9 June 1967, 11 : 1-2.

447. "Pakistan must triumph ; Kashmir stand based on sound principles — Carnelius" in *Pakistan Times*, 15 April 1967, 9 : 1-2.

448. "Pakistan's stand on Kashmir reiterated ; Pirzada refutes Indian charges" in *Pakistan Times*, 4 January 1968, 10 : 1-2.

449. "Pakistan's stand on Kashmiris rights reaffirmed; No fair solution without agreement of the three parties, Ayub's assurance to Abdullah" in *Dawn*, 15 January 1968, 1 : 1-2.

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454. "Taking Kashmir to UN Council ; matter under study——Ayub" in *Morning News*, 6 August 1966, 1 : 7-8.

455. "Too Early to think of alternative while negotiations are on——Bhutto" in *Morning News*, 22 March 1966, 2 : 4-5.

(C) .... Speeches and Statements of The (East) Pakistani Leaders about Kashmir.

456. "East Pakistanis ready for all sacrifices for Kashmir" in *Dawn*, 22 March 1967, 13 : 2-3.

457. "East Wing observes

Kashmir resolution day, with pledge for freedom fight" in *Morning News*, 12 August 1966, 7 : 6-7.

458. "Importance of Kashmir solution must be realised ; East Wing speaker's call to India" in *Dawn*, March 1966, 5 : 7-8.

459. "Kashmir must have right to choose their destiny, Bhashani deplores Indian intransigence" in *Dawn*, 31 March 1966, 19 : 5-6.

460. "Khaliquzzaman asks India to settle Kashmir dispute" in *Dawn*, 11 April 1967, 6 : 6.

461. Nurul Amin's appeal to Kosygin, help solve Kashmir" in *Pakistan Times*, 11 January 1967.

462. "Struggle for held Kashmir liberation to continue unabated, says Bhashani." in *Morning News*, 11 April 1966, 2 : 6-8.

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7

KASHMIR AND INDIA

Like the previous one, this chapter is also divided into two parts :

Part I includes the publications of the Government of India about Kashmir and in the *Part II* material about Kashmir vis-a-vis India has been included. Most of the material included in this part is *Unofficial*, while part I contains only *Official* material published by the different ministries, departments etc., of the Government of India.

Both the parts are further sub-divided as follows :—

Part I : OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS OF

(A) ....Government of India.

(B) .... Ministry of External Affairs.

(C) ....Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.

(D) ....Ministry of States.

(E) ....Bureau of Information.

(F) ....Information Services.

Part II : OFFICIAL & UNOFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

(A) .... Kashmir vis-a vis India.

(B) .... Speeches and Press Statements of the Indian Leaders about Kashmir.

(C) ....Kashmir and Indian Press & Public Opinion.

(D) .... Kashmir-India and Pakistani Press.

(E) ....Kashmiri Muslims and India.

PART I

(A) ....Government of India.

463. Government of India. *Aggression in Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1963.

464. ——. *Defending Kashmir*, Delhi, 1949.

465. ——. *Pakistan's New Attempt to grab Kashmir*. New Delhi, 1965.

466. ——. *White Paper : Indo Pakistan Relations, July 15-August 11, 1951*, New Delhi, 1951.

467 ——. *White Paper on Jammu and Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1965.

(B) ....Ministry of External Affairs.

468. Ministry External Affairs *Documents regarding Kashmir*, Government of India Information Services, Washington, DC., 1949, 17 p.

469. ——. *Kashmir and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1952.

470. ——. *Kashmir History*, New Delhi, 1949.

471. ——. *Some Questions and Answers on Kashmir*.

472. ——. United Nations Security Council Representative for India and Pakistan, Dr. Graham's First and Second Reports, Security Council Proceedings of January 1952, 119 p. Also see Entry No. 324.

473. ——. United Nations, Security Council : Third report to the Security Council by Dr. Frank P. Graham. New Delhi, 1952, 24 p.
Also see Entry No. 326.

474. ——. United Nations. Security Council : Commision for India and Pakistan, Reports, June 1948 to December 1949, New Delhi, 1952, vi, 335 p.
Also see Entry No. 321.

475. ——*White Paper : Kashmir, Meetings and correspondence between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan*, July 1953—Oct. 1954, Delhi, 1954 (White Paper), 112 p.

476. *White Papers : Pakistan's War Propaganda Against India*, September 1950—June 1951, New Delhi, 1951, 12 p.

(C) ....Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.

477. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. *Defending*

Kashmir, Delhi, 1949 193 p.

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479. ——. *India-Pakistan Dispute*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1965. (Pamphlets).

12 pamphlets in one Volume. PL—480 Libraries received this.

480. ——. *Indian Muslims' Views on Kashmir: Statements and Resolutions by Muslim Organizations of India (July 21, 1951—September 15, 1951)*, The Publication Division, December 1951, 68 p.

This includes the views of the Muslim leaders of Indian choice so the book represents the Indian point of view about Kashmir Problem.

481. ——. *The Kashmir Issue*, Delhi, 1948, 16 p.

482. ——. *The Kashmir Story*, Delhi, 1948, 72 p.

(D) ....Ministry of States.

483. Ministry of States, *White Paper on the Indian States :* rev. ed., Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1950, vi, 395 p.

(E) ......**Bureau of Information.**

484. Bureau of Information. *Kashmir Accedes to India : Proceedings of All Parties Convention*, M. Yusuf, Information Officer, Kashmir, 194-, 20 p.

(F) .... **Information Services.**

485. Information Services. *Twelve Months of War in Kashmir*, Washinton, 1948, 14 p.

486. ——. *Documents connected with Cease-Fire Proposals*, New Delhi, August 13, 1948.

487. ——. *East India (Kashmir), Papers Relating to Kashmir*, London, 1890, 79 p (c. 6072 ; Parl., Pap 1890 : LIV).

Includes "Preliminary report of settlement operations in Kashmir and Jammu by A. Wingate ... ...".

488. India, The Research Institute of ——. *The Kashmir Question*, Lucknow, 1950.

PART II

(A) ......Kashmir vis-a-vis India.

489. All India States' Peoples' Conference : *Kashmir*, Bombay, 1939, 54 p.

490. BAINS, J.S. *India's International Disputes : A Legal Study*, London, 1962.

491. BULA, MUSTAFA, "India and Kashmir" in *Pakistan Times*, 27 October 1966, XIX : 5-8. XX : 4 (Supple.).

492. DIGBY, WILLIAM. *Condemned Unheard : The Government of India and his Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir : A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Sir Ughtred Kay Shuttleworth*, India Political Agency, London, July 1890, 226 p.

    A protest against the deposition of Maharaja Partab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir.

493. DIWAN, P. "Kashmir and the Indian Union : The Legal Position," in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, July 1953.

494. HITSCHMANN, MARCELLE. "India's responsibility for delays in Kashmir dispute", in *Spectator*, November 21, 1949.

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495. IMRANY, M.R. *Paradise under the Shadow of Hell*, The Author, Lahore, 1948, XXIII, 193 p.

496. *India and Pakistan Dispute on Kashmir : Extracts from Speeches Delivered before the Security Council of the UNO, January 16-17. 1948*, Karachi, 15 p.

497. "India reiterates Kashmir is its integral part, Letter to the United Nations," in *Dawn*, 15 October 1966, 1 : 1-2.

498. *India vs India on Kashmir*, Kashmir Free Centre, New York, 1962.

499. "Kashmir important road block to India's progress : London Paper's view" in *Dawn*, 16 August 1967, 16 : 1.

500. "Kashmir part of India : Delhi's terms for talks" in *Morning News*, 20 August 1967, 1 : 6-7

501. KAULA, P. N. and K. L. DHAR. *Kashmir Speaks*, with a foreword by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Delhi, 203 p. (Indian point of view).

Also see Entry No. 1017.

502. LEVI, WERNER. "Kashmir and India's Foreign Policy", in *Current History*, 34, No. 202, June 1958, pp. 340-45.

503. MAHAJAN, MEHR CHAND. *Looking Back : The Autobiography of Mehr Chand Mahajan, Former Chief Justice of India*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, vi+299 p.

Chapters 16-20 are useful. Considerable new information on Indian pressure exerted on Kashmir to make her accede to India.

504. "No military threat from China, but Kashmir vital for India's defence" in *Dawn*, 2 April 1966, 1 : 5 : 13 : 1.

505. RICHARD, PAUL *India, The Peace Maker : A Solution of the Kashmir Problem*. Ganesh, Madras, 1951, 35 p.

506. SEDGWICK, W. *India for Sale : Kashmir Sold*, N. p., W. Newman and Co., Calcutta, 1886, v+30 p.

Contents : Changed, Unconcerned, Buyer and Seller, Redeeming.

(B) ....Speeches and Press Statements of the Indian Leaders about Kashmir.

507. CHAGLA, MAHOMEDALI CURRIM. *Kashmir: 1947-65*, Publications Division, Fridabad, 1965, 124p.

Speeches at the United Nations in 1964-65.

508. "Delhi not bound by UN motion ; Kashmir integral part of India, says Swaran" in *Dawn*, 19 April 1965, 1 : 4-5.

509. "Held Kashmir to get closer to India, no submission to Pakistan's threats—Indira" in *Pakistan Times*, 30 September 1966, 14 : 6.

510. "Indian won't give up Kashmir, says Desai —talks on aid with

Johnson Freeman and Woods" in *Dawn*, 14 September 1967, 12 : 2-5 ; 1 : 4-5.

511. "Indira rules out Plebiscite, close economic ties before Kashmir Talks" in *Dawn*, 10 March 1966, 1 : 7-8 ; 11 ; 5.

512. "Kashmir not negotiable, Swaran repeats Delhi's stand" in *Dawn*, 4 Dec., 1966, 1 : 3.

513. "Kashmir settlement precondition to amity—— Desai" in *Dawn* 15 Sept. 1967, 1 : 4-5.

514. "Kashmir will be discussed if raised, Swaran's categorical statement" in *Dawn*, 3 March 1966, 1 : 4-5.

515. MOOKERJEE SYAMA PARASAD. *Integrate Kashmir : The full text of the Speech Delivered in the Parliament on the Kashmir Issue——on 26th June 1952*, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Delhi, 1952, 17 p.

Also see Entry No. 635.

516. "Mr. Chagla's statement on Kashmir" in *Dawn* 23 January 1967, 10 : 1-2.

517. "Mrs. Gandhi's claim on Kashmir". in *Dawn*, 29 February 1968, 8 : 7.

518. "Namdar's visit to Jammu : Move to silence Plebiscite Leaders" in *Dawn*, 30 June 1966, 13 : 5.

519. "Nehru said Indian pledge was 'joke' ; Sheikh recounts story of New Delhi perfidy" in *Dawn*, 11 February 1966, 7 : 5-5.

520. "Nehru saw need for Kashmir solution ; tension to continue if there is no Plebiscite" in *Pakistan Times*, 10 April 1966, 7 : 2-3.

521. "No free choice for Kashmiris ; Indian envoy" in *Morning News*, 16 February 1968, 10 : 3-5 ; 12 : 1-4.

522. "No good for India to mark time in Kashmir, Stacey" in *Morning News*, 1 : 1-3 ; 12 : 6-3.

523. "No negotiation on Kashmir—Chagla" in *Pakistan Times*, 30 November 1966, 14 : 1-6.

524 "Why Nehru risks war in Kashmir ; For him its prestige and political power".

in *US News and World Report*, 42, February 8, 1957, pp. 56-67.

(C) .... Kashmir and Indian Press and Public Opinion.

525. "Delhi's stand on Kashmir unreasonable, Indian National writers to US Paper" in *Dawn*, 17 April 1966, 13 : 3.

526. "Election hoax in held Kashmir ; Indian newsman's exposure" in *Pakistan Times*, 17 March 1968, 7 : 5-6.

527. "Kashmir accepted as disputed, Bombay Paper slates Delhi for retreat". *Pakistan Times*, 10 April 1966, 7 : 4-5.

528. "Kashmir and Indian Press, Delhi admitted dispute over Kashmir" in *Dawn* 10 April 1966, 19 : 4.

529. "Kashmir dispute and India, Delhi Seminar urges release of Kashmiri Leaders ; Solution of Kashmir Issue" in *Morning News*, October 1966, 8 : 2-3.

530. "Kashmir has not acceded to India, says Indian Express" in *Dawn* 21 Feb., 1968, 10 : 3.

531. "Kashmir Issue must be solved without delay, Public opinion in India despite India's attitude" in *Dawn*, 28 January 1968, 11 : 1-2.

532. "Kashmiris distrust Delhi, issue yet to be solved ; Indian newsman's impressions" in *Dawn*, 19 August 1967, 9 : 8.

533. "Lack of freedom in Kashmir. Indian Paper urges fair elections" in *Pakistan Times*, 12 July 1966, 10 : 2-3.

534. "Sheikh's unconditional release demanded, Kashmir Problem exists, says J. J. Singh" in *Dawn*, 30 April 1967, 14 : 2-3.

Statement by Mr. J.J. Singh, former President of the India League in America.

(D) .... Kashmir—India and Pakistani Press.

535. "Black Day". (E) in *Dawn* 11 August 1967, 9 : 1-2.

536. "Blood-bath in Kashmir".

(E) in *Morning News*, 2 September 1967, 8 : 1-2.

537. "Election Force" (E) in *Pakistan Times*, 20 October 1966, 6 : 1-2.

538. "Eloquent Silence" (E) in *Pakistan Times*, 20 October 196, 6 : 1-2.

539. "Eviction of Muslims" (E) in *Pakistan Times*, 19 October 1966, 6 : 1-2

540. "Fake Polls" (E) in *Pakistan Times*, 19 January 1967, 6 ; 1- .

541. "The future of Kashmir" (E) in *Dawn*, 2 January 1970.

542. "Great Opportunity" (E) in *Dawn*, 5 January 1968, 7 : 1-2.

543. "Held Kashmir Situation" (E) in *Dawn*, 10 September 1966, 8 : 7.

544. "Hotting it up" (E) in *Morning News*, 7 July 1962, 6 : 1-2

545. "How India is sabotaging Kashmir Plebiscite scheme" in *Pakistan Times*, (Mag. Sec.), 20 November 1949.

546. "India advises not to treat Kashmir like real estate" in *Dawn*, 6 June 1967, 9 : 1-2.

547. "India has taken no step to solve Kashmir Issue yet ?" in *Dawn*, 29 July 1966, 1 : 3.

548. "India not ready for meeting for Kashmir talks" in *Dawn*, 29 July 1966, 1 : 3.

549. "India using up a change of held Kashmir" in *Pakistan Times*, 16 September 1966, 8 ; 5-6.

550. "Indian interpretation rejected" in *Dawn*, 14 September 1966, 1 : 3-5.

551. "India's intransigence on Kashmir condemned" in *Pakistan Times*, 11 January 1967, 9 : 6-7.

552. "India's Obduracy." (E) in *Dawn*, 9 January 1968, 5 : 1-2.

553. "Indira's Kashmir Policy?" in *Morning News*, 15 March 1969, 6 : 3-5 ; 7 : 4-5.

554. "Kashmir : a timely reminder" (E) in *Dawn*, 22 May 1969, 7 : 1-2.

555. "Kashmir again" (E) in *Morning News*, 20 October 1966, 10 : 1-2.

556. "Kashmir Elections—Big Fraud" (E) in *Dawn*, 11 February 1967, 7 : 1-2.

557. "Kashmir elections" (E) in *Morning News*, 24 February 1967, 8 : 1-2.

558. "Kashmir Solution by people alone" in *Dawn*, 1 June 1966, 1 : 4.

559. "Kashmir unbowed" (E) in *Morning News*, 8 May 1966, 6 : 1-2.

560. "Kashmir will be free" in *Morning News*, 24 October 1966, 10 : 1-2.

561. "Kashmiri refugees" (E) in *Pakistan Times*, 29 April 1966, 10 : 1-2.

562. "Lion of Kashmir" (E) in *Pakistan Times*, 9 May 1967, 7 : 1-3.

563. "Ludicrous claim" (E) *Dawn*, 25 June 1966, 9 : 1-2.

564. "No peace without Kashmir solution : talks only if India recognises dispute——Ali Akbar" in *Pakistan Times*, 19 July 1966, 10 : 4-5.

565. "No Problem" (E) in *Morning News*, 24 June 1966, 8 : 1-2.

566. "Ominous Portents" (E) in *Dawn*, 8 June 1969, 9 : 1-2.

567. "Out of their own mouths" (E) in *Pakistan Times*, 4 November 1966, 8 : 1-2.

568. "Partition for Kashmir ?" in *Dawn*, 3 May 1969, 7 : 1-2.

569. "Pernicious programme" (E) in *Dawn*, 3 May 1969, 7 : 1-2.

570. "Promise unfulfilled." (E) *Morning News*, 11 January 1967, 8 : 1-2.

571. "Puppet play" (E) in *Dawn*, 24 February 1967, 1-2.

572. "Sinister moves in occupied Kashmir" (E) in *Dawn*, 16 April 1969, 7 :

573. "Weakness of India's case exposed" in *Dawn*, 21 August 1966, 1 : 3-5.

574. "Years of wrongful detention" (E) in *Dawn* 8 May 1967, 7 : 1-2.

(E) ...... Kashmiri Muslims and India.

575. All India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh *Educational Problems of Mohammadans in Kashmir*, Bulletin No. 13, Aligarh.

576. "100 Plebiscite workers tortured, Indian employing Nazi-type methods" in *Dawn*, 19 April 1966, 9 : 1-2.

577. "Indian atrocities in held State, Kashmiris' appeal to World Powers" in *Dawn* 14 July 1966, 1 : 7-8.

578. "India extends 'Detention Act' to Valley : present moment considered ideal for crushing Kashmiris" in *Dawn*, 20 March 1969, 10 : 1-2.

579. "Indian genocide in Valley condemned, Kissan Conference assures support to Kashmiris" in *Pakistan Times*, 21 August 1966, 7 : 3-4.

580. "Indian Journal urges release of Kashmiri Leaders" in *Dawn*, 12 July 1965, 10 : 3.

581. "Indians kill Azad Kashmiris" in *Dawn*, 21 July 1956, 1 : 3-4.

582. *Indian Muslim Leader's Memorandum of Kashmir*. Zakir Hussain, Aligarh, 1951, 12 p.

583. *Indian Muslim Leaders on Kashmir*, Indian delegation to the United Nations, New York, 1951, 7 p.

584. "Indian soldiers kill several Azad Kashmiris" in *Dawn*, 24 August 1966, 1 : 3.

585. "Indian troops' atrocities on Kashmiris continue : protests go unheard" in *Dawn*, 28 July 1967, 9 : 7-8.

586. "Indian troops terrorising held Kashmir Muslims; women assaulted" in *Dawn*, 22 September 1967, 16 : 4-5,

587. "Indian turn held Kashmir into prison ; attitude after TD" in *Morning News* 5 July 1966, 4 : 1-2.

588. "Properties of Kashmiri Muslims to be annexed ; Delhi decides to ignore Pakistan's plea to UN" in *Morning News*, 5 July 1969, 1 : 1-2.

589. "India, the Constitution (application to Jammu & Kashmir) Amendment Order 1960." in Kumar, Girja and V.K. Arora (ed.) *Documents on Indian Affairs : 1960*, Asia Publishing House, London, 1964, p. 281.

Notification by the President of India Rajendra Prasad, on 20 January 1960, extending the Jurisdiction of Law Commission Election and Supreme Court to Jammu & Kashmir.

590. "India wants Kashmir without Muslims, Abdul Majid" in *Dawn*, 21 August 1966, 7 : 4.

591. "Indian bid to amend text-books in held Kashmir" in *Dawn*, 21 August 1966, 7 : 4.

592. "Indian bid to de-Muslimise held Kashmir" in *Dawn*, 7 May 1966.

593. "Move to extend more Indian laws to occupied Kashmir, Pakistan lodges strong protest" in *Dawn*, 12 August 1967, 1 : 7-8

594. "New Indian moves on Kashmir, Abdul Majid" in *Pakistan Times*, 30 June 1966, 6 : 3-4.

595. "Plot to wipe out Muslims: Kashmiris' 11 page memo to Chavan" in *Pakistan Times*, 22 September 1967, 10 : 1-3.

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8

KASHMIR—GOVERNMENT OF—.

This chapter is divided into three parts.

The first Part (A) includes only official publications by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, while Part (B) consists of the speeches and writings or statements of the Kashmiri leaders. Mainly this portion covers the speeches and statements of Sh. M. Abdullah, Khan Abdul Hamid Khan, K.H. Khurshid and Mirza Afzal Beg.

Part (C) is about the political parties of Kashmir and the way they see the Kashmir problem, and what is their role in the freedom struggle of Kashmir.

(A) .... Official Publications of Jammu and Kashmir Government.

596. IQBAL, MUHAMMAD (ed). *Azad Kashmir on Road to Progress*, Information Directorate, Jammu & Kashmir Government, 1965, 123 p. Illust.

597. Jammu & Kashmir Govt: *Abolition of Hereditary Rule in Kashmir*, Bureau of Information, New Delhi, 1953.

598. ——. *All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference; Constituent Assembly for Jammu & Kashmir: Resolution adopted by the General Council of the All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference on the 27th October 1950*, Press Information Bureau, Srinagar, 1950, 7 p.

599. ——. *Five Months: An Account of the work done by the Jammu and Kashmir Government under the Prime Minister, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad from 9 August 1953 to 9 January 1954 in accordance with the policy*

of Statement of 9 August 1953, Directorate of Information & Broadcasting, Jammu, 1953, 35 p.

600. ——. *How they see us : How they saw us*, Srinagar, 1951, 31 p.

601. ——. *Invasion of Kashmir*, Department of Information & Broadcasting, Bombay, 1950, 10 p.

602. ——. *Jammu and Kashmir today*, Srinagar, 1952, 56 p.

603. ——. *Kashmir's Fight for Freedom*, Department of Public Relations, Jammu, 1948.

604. ——. *Onward Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1950, 13 p.

605. Jammu and Kashmir, Government of—— ——. *Short Term Economic Development of Jammu and Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1951.

606. ——. *Through Blood, Sweat & Tears : An Account of the Activities of the Emergency Administration of Jammu and Kashmir from October 31, 1947 to March 5, 1948*, n.p., ii, vii, 64 p.

(B) ......Kashmir and Kashmiri Leaders.

607. ABDULLAH, SHEIKH MOHAMMAD. *Kashmir : Appeal to world conscience*, Delhi, 1948, 16 p.

Text of speech at 241st meeting of the Security Council, 5 February 1948.

608. ——. "Kashmir, India and Pakistan" in *Foreign Affairs*, 43 : 528-535, April 1965.

609. ——. *Kashmir, India and Pakistan*, n. p , 1965, pp. 528-535.

Reprinted from *Foreign Affairs* Quarterly Review, April 1965, pp- 258-535.

610. ——, *Quit Kashmir: Memorandum to the British Cabinet mission*, General Secretary, Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, Srinagar, 1946, 16 p.

611. ——. *State vs. the Rebel : Sh. Abdullah Answers for the people of Jammu and Kashmir : Why Freedom ? A Narrative of the Historic*

Trial, Introd. by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, (Maulana Mohammad Saeed) Introd., 1946. N.p.p., 16 p.

612. ——. *To America*, Secretary for Information & Broadcasting, Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Bombay, 194-?, 7 p.

Statement issued by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, head of the administration in Kashmir.

613. BEG, MIRZA, AFZAL. *Sheikh Abdullah Defended*, Mubarak Shah, Secretary (Publicity) Jammu and Kashmir Legal Defence Committee, Shaheedganj, Kashmir, Srinagar, n.d., 347+xxxii p.

614. "Draft Constitution for Occupied Kashmir; Peoples' Convention at work. Says Abdullah," in *Dawn*, 20 May 1969, 7 : 1—1.

615. "Farooq Abdullah urge Kashmir to unite" in *Dawn*, 24 August 1967, 7 : 1-1.

616. "Farooq, Karra offer full support to Sheikh Abdullah", in *Dawn*, 25 January 1961, 14 : 6.

617. FELDMAN, HERBERT, *From Crisis to Crisis*, Oxford University Press, London, 1972.

Indo-Pakistan Relations: I, Ch. viii, pp. 125-137.

In the above mentioned chapter, the role of Sh Abdullah has been analysed.

618. *Former Prime Minister of Kashmir Appeals From Behind Prison Walls*, n.d. 12 p.

This letter was written by Sh. M Abdullah from Jail in 1953.

The booklet also includes the resolutions of the Security Council reaffirming its stand on Kashmir and editorials from the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and the *Washington Star* on India's defiance of the United Nations.

619. "God's plan can never be frustrated: Sh. Abdullah's letter," in *Pakistan Times*, 10 : 7-8.

620. "Ibrahim commends Sheikh

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10

KASHMIR AND THE WORLD

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What, that has been contained in this chapter is the statements and speeches of the foreign leaders about Kashmir. Or the way the foreigners see the Kashmir issue with their own point of view. Moreover, what is the interest of the foreign powers with the Kashmir Issue and what role did they play regarding this matter. All such material discussing the above mentioned topics has been included in this chapter.

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11

KASHMIR FREEDOM MOVEMENT AND THE KASHMIR PEOPLE

This chapter contains three types of material in it. Though the chapter is not divided into parts as such, but it can be classified into three different sections.

(a) The agitational movements of the Kashmiris against their rulers to liberate their land.

(b) Their problems and difficulties. Indian atrocities and repressions.

(c) Day to day political developments in the Indian held Kashmir and the activities of the Kashmiri Muslims.

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اردو زبان میں مسئلہ کشمیر کو ایک سیاسی مسئلے کی حیثیت سے بہترین طریقہ پر پیش کیا گیا ہے - کتاب میں کشمیر کی تحریکِ آزادی کی مختصر تاریخ ۱۹۳۱ء سے ۱۹۴۷ء تک ، الحاق کی سازش ، مسئلہ کشمیر اقوامِ متحدہ میں ، براہ راست مذاکرات ، بھارت کا موقف اور مسئلہ کشمیر کی حقیقی نوعیت کے عنوانات سے ایک متوازن تبصرہ کیا گیا ہے - کتاب کے آخر میں کشمیر پر ایک اچھی کتابیات بھی دی گئی ہے -

۸ - اختر ، کلیم -

(شیرِ کشمیر) شیخ محمد عبداللہ ، تاریخ حریت کشمیر کے آئینے میں ، سندھ ساگر اکادمی ، لاہور ، ۱۹۶۳ء ، ۳۴۰ ص ص -

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۹ - ــــــ

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رہ نمبر ۱۹ - دور ششم ، مارچ اپریل ۱۹٦٦ء ، ۵۰۴ ص ص -

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۱۱ - آزاد ، سید محمود -

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۱۴ - اشرف ظفر ، ڈاکٹر سیدہ -

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چونکہ سید ہمدانی نے کشمیر میں تبلیغ اسلام کا اہم کردار ادا کیا ہے ، اس لحاظ سے بھی کشمیر میں اشاعت اسلام سے متعلق یہ کتاب ایک سود مند مطالعہ کی حیثیت رکھتی ہے - علاوہ ازیں اس زمانے کے کشمیر کے سماجی اور سیاسی حالات اور خاص کر مذہبی حالات پر یہ کتاب ایک عمدہ تصنیف ہے - لہذا اس کتاب کو ہم کشمیر میں اشاعت اسلام کے موضوع پر تصنیف بھی کہہ سکتے ہیں -

۱۵ - افغانی ، ایم عبدالرحیم -
فتح کشمیر ، راولپنڈی ، ۱۹۶۹ء -

۱۶ - اکرام ، شیخ محمد -
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۱۷ - انصاری ، عبدالخالق -
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۱۸ - انوار مزدکی -
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۱۹ - ایم - ایس - ٹی صاحب -
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۲۲ - ـــــــ

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۳۵ - ——— **متاع زندگی** . کلاسیک ، لاہور ، ت - ن ، ص ۲۶ ص ص -
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۵۴ - **شیخ محمد عبداللہ - دوست یا دشمن ؟ سوانح عمری**، اعوان پبلیکیشنز، راولپنڈی ت - ن، ۲۱۱ ص ص -

۵۵ - شیخ محمد عبداللہ -

"کشمیر، پاکستان اور بھارت" - روزنامہ **انجام**، ۱۱ مئی ۱۹۶۵ء، ص ص ۳ تا ۷ -

۵۶ - **شیر کشمیر کے دورۂ انگلستان کا ایک .....**"

حریت ، ۱۱ اپریل ، ۱۹۶۵ء ، ص ۲ -

۵۷ - صادق ، جی - ایم -

کشمیر چھوڑ دو ، سنگم پبلیشرز لمیٹڈ ، لاہور ، ت - ن ، ۲۰۸ ص ص -

۵۸ - صدیقی ، عتیق -

شیخ عبداللہ ، کشمیر اور ہم - مکتبہ شاہراہ ، دہلی -

۵۹ - صدیقی ، فضل احمد -

خونبابۂ کشمیر - ادارہ ادب ، فریر سٹریٹ ، کراچی ، ۱۹۵۱ء ، ۵۵۹ ص ص ، تصاویر ، تعارف - سردار محمد ابراہیم خان -

فضل احمد صدیقی کی کشمیر کی سیاسی تاریخ پر ایک جامع کتاب ، جس میں پاکستان ، ہندوستان اور کشمیر کے رہنماؤں کے کشمیر کے بارے میں خیالات قلمبند کیے گئے ہیں اور مسئلے کا سیاسی نقطۂ نظر سے مطالعہ کیا گیا ہے - کتاب میں صدیقی صاحب کی کشمیر کے بارے میں ایک نظم ''وادیٔ گلریز'' بھی شامل ہے -

۶۰ - عبدالرحمان ، راجہ -

''مسئلہ کشمیر : ہمیں کیا کرنا چاہئیے'' (مضمون) ، **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۲۰ فروری ۱۹۷۵ء ، ص ۳ ، پہلی قسط -

۶۱ -----

''مسئلہ کشمیر : ہمیں کیا کرنا چاہئیے'' (مضمون) ، **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۲۱ فروری ۱۹۷۵ء ، ص ۳ ، دوسری قسط (آخری) -

۶۲ - عطا ، اشرف -

کچھ شکستہ داستانیں ، کچھ پریشان تذکرے ، سندھ ساگر اکادمی ، لاہور ،

۱۹۶۶ء ، ۳۱۴ ص ص -
مقدمہ ، محمد سرور

یہ کتاب ۱۹۲۰ء کی تحریک خلافت سے زیادہ متعلق ہے- البتہ یہ کوئی مکمل یا مربوط تاریخ نہیں۔ کتاب کا زیادہ تر حصہ پنجاب میں ۱۹۲۰ء کے بعد پیدا ہونے والی تحریکوں کی تاریخ پر مشتمل ہے - جس میں ایک باب تحریک کشمیر سے متعلق ہے - ص ص ۱۲۷ - ۱۴۴ -

۶۳ - علی ، چودھری محمد -

ظہور پاکستان ، مترجم - بشیر احمد ارشد - مسعود پرنٹرز ، لاہور ، ۱۹۷۰ء ، باب ۱۴ - جوناگڑھ ، حیدر آباد اور کشمیر ، ص ص ۳۳۱ - ۳۴۴ -

۶۴ - غازی ، عبدالحمید -

شیخ عبداللہ اور مسئلہ کشمیر ، لاہور ، ۱۹۶۵ء -

۶۵ - غفاری ، ابوذر -

"مسئلہ کشمیر پر قرطاس ابیض - چند توجہ طلب حقائق" ، **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۲۶ جنوری ۱۹۷۷ء ، ص ۳

وزارت خارجہ ، حکومت پاکستان نے ۱۵ جنوری ۱۹۷۷ء کو مسئلہ کشمیر پر ایک قرطاس ابیض شائع کیا - یہ مضمون اس قرطاس ابیض پر ایک تبصرہ ہے -

۶۶ - غلام عباس ، چودھری -

کشمکش ، اردو اکیڈمی ، لاہور ، ۱۹۵۰ء ، ۳۲۷ ص ص، پیش لفظ - عبدالمجید سالک -

یہ کتاب چودھری غلام عباس کی خودنوشت سوانح عمری کے علاوہ تحریک حریت کشمیر کی تاریخ پر بھی ایک مستند کتاب ہے- کتاب کا بیشتر حصہ قیام پاکستان سے پہلے مکمل ہو گیا تھا - لیکن اس کی اشاعت قیام پاکستان کے بعد ہوئی -

۶۷ - غلام محی الدین، صوفی -

کاشیر (تاریخ کشمیر)، لاہور، ۱۹۴۸ء -

۶۸ - فوق، منشی محمد دین -

مکمل تاریخ کشمیر، (۳ جلدیں ظفر برادرس، لاہور، ظفر منزل، جون ۱۹۳۱ء، (جلد اول) ص ۳۳۵ -

۶۹ —— اور محمد عبداللہ قریشی -

تاریخ اقوامِ کشمیر، (جلد سوم) ظفر برادرس، ظفر منزل، لاہور، ۱۹۳۶ء، ۳۴۴ ص ص، تصاویر -

اس کتاب میں کشمیر کی اہم شخصیات کی ان کے خاندانی شجرہ نسب کے حوالے سے بحث کی گئی ہے اور ان کے سیاسی کردار پر روشنی ڈالی گئی ہے -

۷۰ - قاضی، ذوالفقار احمد (ایم - اے) -

جنگ ستمبر ۱۹۶۵ء، مقبول اکیڈمی، لاہور، ایک باب "کشمیر سے راجستان تک" صفحہ ۱۲ سے ۲۲ تک، کشمیر سے متعلقہ ہے- ص ص ۱۲-۲۰ -

۷۱ - قریشی، پروفیسر محمد اسحاق -

"کشمیر میں کیا ہو رہا ہے -" (مضمون، **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) راولپنڈی، ۷ فروری ۱۹۷۵ء -

۷۲ ——

"کشمیر کا مسئلہ - تاریخ کے آئینے میں -" **نوائے وقت**(روزنامہ)، ۲۰ جولائی ۱۹۷۶ء، ص ۳ -

۷۳ - قریشی، مشتاق احمد -

جہاد کشمیر، راحت پبلیکیشنز، محمد نگر، لاہور، ۱۹۴۸ء، ۳۸۲ ص ص،

۷۴ - کاشمیری، محمد اسد اللہ قریشی -

معمار آزادی کشمیر خواجہ

نبی گلکار ، دارالاشاعت کشمیر ، راولپنڈی ۔

۷۵ ۔ کاظمی ، غلام حسن شاہ ۔

انقلاب کشمیر (حصہ اول) نیشنل بک ڈپو رجسٹرڈ ، لاہور ، ۱۹۵۱ء ، ۳۵۲ ص ص ۔

۷۶ ۔ کشفی ، میر غلام احمد ۔

کشمیر ہمارا ہے ، آغا امیر حسین ، کلاسیک ، لاہور ، اگست ۱۹۶۵ء ، ۳۰۸ ص ص ۔

۷۷ ۔ ـــــ

مسئلہ کشمیر ۔ کچھ یادیں کچھ حقیقتیں ، نور آرٹ پریس ، راولپنڈی ، ۱۹۷۴ء ، ۴۸ ص ص ۔

۷۸ ۔ ''کشمیر ۔ آزمائش کا ایک اور مرحلہ'' (اداریہ) **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۹ فروری ۱۹۷۵ء ، ص ۳ ۔

۷۹ ۔ ''کشمیر ۔ بھارتی قیادت سے توقعات'' (اداریہ) ، **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۱۵ ستمبر ۱۹۷۶ء ۔

۸۰ ۔ ''کشمیر ۔ ہڑتال سے آگے بھی سوچئے ۔'' (اداریہ) **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۲۶ فروری ۱۹۷۵ء ، ص ۳ ۔

۸۱ ۔ ''کشمیر ۔ ہڑتال کے بعد'' (اداریہ) **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۲۸ فروری ۱۹۷۵ء ، ص ۳ ۔

۸۲ ۔ ''کشمیر کو پاکستان میں شامل کرانے کے لیے شملہ معاہدہ کی تنسیخ ضروری ہے ۔'' (ہفت روزہ) **چٹان** ، لاہور ، ۲۶ اپریل ۱۹۷۶ء ، ص ۱۴ ۔

۸۳ ۔ ''کشمیر کے علمی و ادبی سرمائے میں ناشرین کا حصہ ۔'' (ہفت روزہ) **چٹان** ، لاہور ، یکم دسمبر ۱۹۷۵ء ، ص ۱۳ ۔

۸۴ ۔ ''کشمیر کے علمی و ادبی

سرمائے میں ناشرین کا
حصہ ۔" چٹان (ہفت روزہ)،
لاہور، ۱۵ دسمبر ۱۹۷۵ء،
ص ۲۳ ۔

۸۵ ۔ "کشمیر کے علمی و ادبی
سرمائے میں ناشرین کا
حصہ ۔" **چٹان** (ہفت روزہ)،
لاہور، ۵ جنوری ۱۹۷۶ء،
ص ۳۱ ۔

۸۶ ۔ "کشمیری عوام کی جد و
جہد ۔" (اداریہ) **جنگ**
(روزنامہ)، راولپنڈی، ۳۰
اگست ۱۹۷۶ء، ص ۳ ۔

۸۷ ۔ **کشمیر** (ہفت روزہ)،
مظفر آباد، راولپنڈی، (یکم
جنوری ۱۹۶۵ء تا ــــ) ۔

کشمیر کی تاریخ حریت پر
کام کرنے والوں کے لیے
اس ہفت روزہ کا مطالعہ
کرنا ضروری ہے، جو ابھی
تک باقاعدگی سے شائع ہو
رہا ہے ۔

۸۸ ۔ گمی، سلیم خان ۔

اقبال اور کشمیر، یونیورسل
بکس، لاہور، ۱۹۷۷ء،
۱۵۲ ص ص ۔

۸۹ ۔ ــــــ

کشمیر ــ ادب و ثقافت،
ادارہ مطبوعات پاکستان،
کراچی، جون ۱۹۶۳ء،
۲۰۸ ص ص ۔

۹۰ ۔ ــــــ

کشمیر میں اشاعت اسلام،
یونیورسٹی بک ایجنسی،
خیبر بازار، پشاور، ۱۹۶۶ء،
۲۵۴ ص ص ۔

۹۱ ۔ ــــــ

"کشمیر کی آن شمس
خان" (کہانی) ۔ **سیارہ
ڈائجسٹ** (ماہنامہ)، مئی
۱۹۷۷ء، لاہور، جلد ۲۷،
شمارہ ۵، ص ص ۲۹-۳۸ ۔

۹۲ ۔ ــــــ

"کشمیر کے سورما"
(کشمیر کی لوک کہانی)
ثقافت (سہ ماہی)، پاکستان
نیشنل کونسل آف دی
آرٹس، اسلام آباد، مون
سون، ۱۹۷۶ء، ص ص

۷۹ - ۸۰ -

۹۳ - ——

"قضا کا تیر ، شاہ میر (چودھویں صدی کے کشمیر کے ایک جرواہے کی لوک کہانی)" **سیارہ ڈائجسٹ** (ماہنامہ) لاہور"، جلد ۲۷، شمارہ ٦، جون ۱۹۷۷ء ، ص ص ۴۱ - ۵٦ -

۹۴ - لدھیانوی ، تاج الدین -

تحریک کشمیر اور احرار ، مرکزی مکتبہ مجلس احرار اسلام پاکستان ، لاہور - ملتان ، اگست ۱۹٦۸ء ، ۱۷۳ ص ص -

۹۵ - محب الحسن - (مترجم)

کشمیر انڈر دی سلطان کلکتہ، ۱۹۵۹ء -

۹٦ - محمد اکرام ایڈووکیٹ -

"پاک و بھارت کنفیڈریشن اور مسئلہ کشمیر -"

نصرت (ہفت روزہ) لاہور ، نمبر ۷۸، ۲۲ مارچ ۱۹۷۰ء،

ص ص ۷ - ۱۲ -

۹۷ - محمد زبیر خان آفندی ، راجہ۔

"شیخ عبداللہ کی گرفتاری -" **انجام**، ۱٦ مئی ۱۹٦۵ء ، ص ۳ -

۹۸ - محمود ، شیخ حامد -

"چین اور بھارت کی جنگ کے دوران کشمیر فتح کرنے کا منصوبہ اینگلو امریکی سازش کا شکار ہو گیا -" **معمار** (ہفت روزہ) ، کراچی ۱٦ - ۲۳ جولائی ، ۱۹۷۷ء جلد ۲ شمارہ ۳۰ - ص ص ۲۳ - ۲۴ -

۹۹ - مرزا ، شفقت تنویر -

"الفتح ۲۲ سال پیشتر کشمیر میں موجود تھی -" **نصرت** (ہفت روزہ) لاہور ، الفتح نمبر ، ، نمبر ۵۰ - ۷ ستمبر ۱۹٦۹ء ، ص ص ٦۹ - ۷۲ اور اداریہ (محمد حنیف رامے) -

۱۰۰ - مسکین ، محی الدین -

تاریخ کشمیر : تذکرہ
صونمائے کشمیر ،
سورج پرکاش پریس ،
امرتسر ، ۱۹۲۲ء -

۱۰۱ - "مسئلہ کشمیر حل کیے
بغیر بھارت کے ساتھ تعلقات
معمول پر نہیں آسکتے -"
نوائے وقت (روزنامہ) ،
راولپنڈی ، ۲۷ جنوری
۱۹۷۸ء ، ۱ : ۳ - ۸ -

بھارتی وزیر خارجہ مسٹر
اٹل بہاری باجپئی کے مجوزہ
دورۂ پاکستان کے موقع
پر سرکاری خبر -

۱۰۲ - "مسئلۂ کشمیر : خفیہ
سمجھوتہ اور بھٹو -" **الفتح**
(ہفت روزہ) ، کراچی ،
۲۸ اپریل تا ۵ مئی
۱۹۷۸ء ، ص ۵ -

۱۰۳ - "مسئلۂ کشمیر کے بارے
میں اقوام متحدہ کی
قراردادیں پرانی بات ہے -
بھارتی وزیر خارجہ مسٹر
باجپائی -" **نوائے وقت**
(روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ،
۸ فروری ۱۹۷۸ء ،
ص ۱ -

۱۰۴ - "مسئلۂ کشمیر کے بارے
میں پاکستان اور کشمیر
کے تمام لیڈروں کو اعتماد
میں لیا جائے - کشمیری
لیڈروں کا مطالبہ -" **نوائے
وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ،
جنوری ۱۹۷۸ء ، ۲ :
۲ - ۳ -

۱۰۵ - مفتی ، جی - ایم -
"آزادی کشمیر میں ساڑھے
تین کروڑ روپے کا غبن -"
معیار (ہفت روزہ) کراچی
۱۶ تا ۲۳ جولائی ۱۹۷۷ء ،
جلد ۲ ، شمارہ ۳۰ ،
ص ۲۰ -

۱۰۶ - ———

"کشمیر کی بھارت سے
علیحدگی کا نعرہ - شیخ
عبداللہ کی کامیابی کا باعث
ہوا -" **معیار** (ہفت روزہ) ،
کراچی ، جولائی ۱۹۷۷ء ،

جلد ۲ ، شمارہ ۲۳ - ۳۰ ، ص ۲۳ - ۲۴ -

۱۰۷ - "مقبوضہ کشمیر پر بھارت کے غاصبانہ تسلط کے خلاف مظفر آباد میں احتجاجی مظاہرہ ـ" پاکستان بھارت تعلقات کو پوری طرح معمول پر لانے کے لیے مسئلہ کشمیر حل کرنا ہوگا۔ جنرل ضیاء الحق۔" **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۷ فروری ، ۱۹۷۸ء -

۱۰۸ - "مقبوضہ کشمیر میں انتخابات ـ" (اداریہ) **جنگ** (روزنامہ) راولپنڈی ، ۷ جولائی ۱۹۷۷ء ، ص ۳ -

۱۰۹ - "مقبول بٹ کا دوبارہ پاکستان سے فرار - مقبوضہ کشمیر میں گوریلا سرگرمیاں اور گرفتاری ـ" **الفتح** (ہفت روزہ) ، کراچی ، ۲۷ اگست - ۳۰ دسمبر ۱۹۷۶ء ، ص ص ۵ - ۷ -

۱۱۰ - ملک ، عبداللہ -

پنجاب کی سیاسی تحریکیں ، کوثر پبلیشرز ، لاہور ، ۱۹۷۴ء ، ۳۷۴ ص ص -

کتاب کا ایک باب "تحریک کشمیر ، ۱۹۳۱ء اور مجلس احرار" سے متعلقہ ہے - ص ص ۲۲۸ - ۲۷۶ -

۱۱۱ - میر ، جی - ایم -

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۱۱۲ - میر عبدالعزیز -

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۱۱۵ - میر ، محمد نیاز -
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۱۱۶ - ندوی ، رئیس احمد جعفری -
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۱۱۷ - نظامی ، عارف -
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۱۱۸ - وانی ، خواجہ عبدالصمد -
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۱۱۹ - "وہی ذبح بھی کرے ہے وہی لے ثواب الٹا"۔ (اداریہ) **نوائے وقت** (روزنامہ) ، راولپنڈی ، ۱۷ جنوری ۱۹۷۸ء -
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